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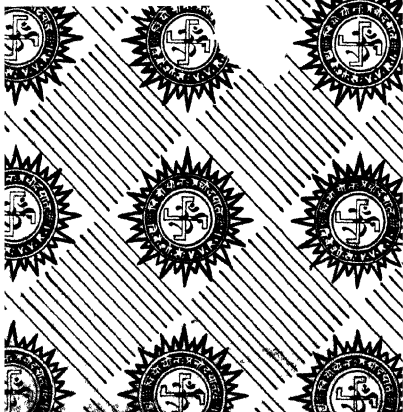
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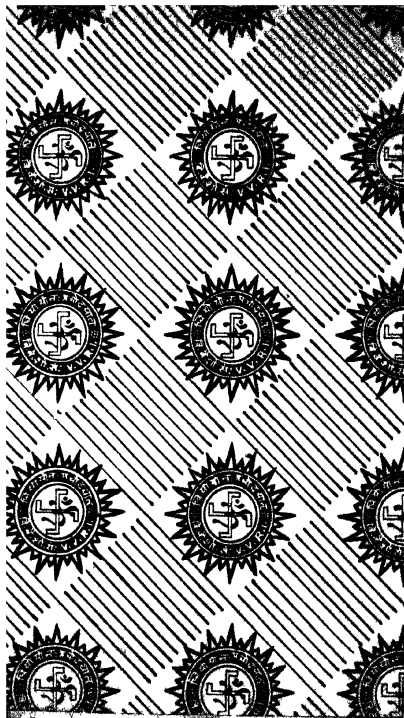
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Editor — VISHVA BANDHU



भारते होशियारपुरे वि वै शो. सं. मुद्रागृहे ।

शास्त्रिणा देवदत्तेन समुद्राप्य प्रकाश्यते ॥

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RGVEDA AND THE INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION

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DIRECTOR, INSTITUTE OF INDIC STUDIES
KURUKSHETRA UNIVERSITY,
KURUKSHETRA

दोशिवरपुरम्

HOSHIARPUR

विश्वेश्वरानन्द-संस्थानम्

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सर्वेऽधिकाराः सुरक्षिताः

प्रथमं संस्करणम्, २०२३ वि

प्रकाशक—विश्वेश्वरानन्द-संस्थानम्,

(पत्र-गृहम्) साधु-आश्रमः, होशिआरपुरम् (पं., भारतम्)

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Dedicated

TO

SARASVATĪ

**The Divine Spirit of ever-progressive march
of the ever-unfathomable and ever-un-
fathomable, eternal stream of knowledge**

AND

**Her sincere devotees of all times
and all climes,**

VISHVA BANDHU

समर्पणम्

ओं धी-धाम-प्रचेतिन्यै शब्द-ब्रह्म-स्वयम्भुवे ।
भगवत्यै सरस्वत्यै भूयोभूयो नमोनमः ॥ १ ॥
ज्ञान-विज्ञान-जीवन्ती सारिणी भयवारिणी ।
शरणं मे परं भूयाद् मतिमाना सरस्वती ॥ २ ॥

विद्याभ्युधिः क गम्भीरः काऽयं हीनप्लवो जनः ।
तरङ्गोत्थोलितस्य स्याः सहाया देवि मे सदा ॥ ३ ॥
तव प्रवाहं प्रततं प्रवेगं शक्तोऽवगाढुं भवति स्वतः कः ।
प्रसादये तत् करुणावति त्वां निष्णापयेमौ तव हस्तधारम् ॥ ४ ॥
तव प्रसादः खलु देवमातः सौजन्यसौशील्यमुधामुधावैः ।
पापप्रमुक्तानथ पुण्ययुक्ताञ् शुद्धाञ् पवित्रान् निपुणांस्तनोति ॥ ५ ॥
तव प्रभावाच्च नु मानवानां तिर्यक्त्व-भोक्षो मनुताविकासः ।
सद्बुद्धियोगः सुगतेः प्रकाशश्चारिज्यशुद्धिः सुमतेर्विलासः ॥ ६ ॥
त्वमेव शास्त्री भवसीह गुर्वी सद्देशनानां जगतां गुरुणाम् ।
तीर्थङ्कराणां श्रुतिपाठकानां योगेश्वराणां भगवद्भवतानाम् ॥ ७ ॥
त्वदेकनिष्ठस्य तु यत्न एष त्वद्भक्तिरक्तेर्मम विश्वबन्धो ।
संसारसर्वस्वविधानसारे स्यात् प्रीतये ते निगमाऽऽगमेशे ॥ ८ ॥

त्वदीया प्रेरणा बीजं त्वत्प्रसादः प्रवर्धकः ।
पुष्पपत्रनिभं देवि भवेदेतत्तर्पितम् ॥ ९ ॥
सत्यमात्राबलोकानां सत्यसारं च संगिराम् ।
सर्वत्र सर्वदा चैव त्वद्भक्तानां तथार्पितम् ॥ १० ॥

विश्वबन्धुः

Woolner Indological Series

ITS DEDICATION

1. The Noble Couple

My revered teacher of sacred memory, the late Dr. Alfred Cooper Woolner was a brilliant pupil of that well-known master of details Professor A.A. Macdonell of Oxford. He was twenty-five when he joined the Panjab University at Lahore in 1903 as its Registrar as well as the Principal of its Oriental College. He held the Registrar's post till 1920 after which he was made, first, the Dean of University Instruction and, subsequently, in 1928, the Vice-Chancellor. Simultaneously, he remained in the Principal's Chair till he breathed his last on January 7, 1936. Whichever office he occupied, he brought to bear on it the noble impression of his gifted personality, thereby adding to its honour and dignity. He had completely identified himself with the University. Indeed, it could be said of him with great aptness that he and the University formed one, indivisible whole. One could never think of the one without thinking of the other. He was in his fifty-eighth year and at the height of his glory when he fell ill and passed away in harness, leaving behind his devoted wife, a large number of friends and admirers and hundreds of pupils to mourn his irretrievable loss.

In his personal life, he was an embodiment of simplicity, frugality and hard work. He was very abstemious and perfect teetotaler. A man of quiet nature, homely habits and simple style of living, he was devoted to books, and enjoyed walks, in the company of his wife, along the banks of brooks. He would invariably spend his vacation in the midst of wild nature in the hills and, at its end, go a-hiking for a hundred miles or so. He was kind, generous and upright in his dealings with all, and was like a fond father to his pupils. He would love

to do all he could for them. And, to those of them with a special aptitude for scholarship, he was a never-failing friend, guide and patron. Himself an ideal student throughout his life, nothing pleased him better than young men taking pains to aquire the habit of marshalling facts before making ill-founded generalisations and proclaiming new discoveries. He was averse to all humbug. The ideal of his life is beautifully summed up in his following Vedic epitaph, engraved in Devanagari characters and accompanied by its rendering into English :

“असतो मा सद् गमय ।

तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय ।

मृत्योर्माप्सुतं गमय ।

“From the Unreal lead me unto the Real ;

From Darkness lead me unto Light ;

From Death lead me unto Life Eternal.”

That epitaph was the selection of his wife, Mrs. Mary Emily Woolner who rightfully claimed that it expressed those noble sentiments which her husband loved the most. So long as the tomb remains intact at Lahore, it will serve as a standing testimony to the universally attuned Indian cultural background of that angelic English lady herself. Consonant with the highest reach of universal Sanskrit culture, she not only gave her husband best love and devotion as his due, but also worshipped him, literally, as her eternal hero. And when, at last, Providence called him to eternal rest, she passed every moment of the period of her survival, eight years and eleven days, in thinking of him when she was awake and in dreaming of him when she was asleep. Thus, she worshipped him to her last in the shrine of her heart. India was dear to her, Veda and Sanskrit were dear to her, because her Alfred had made the former his home and the latter his life-interest. This seemingly frail but really heroic woman had her eternal merger in the hero of her heart on January 18, 1944, bequeathing, practically, her entire estate to the Panjab University towards creation, after the pame of her life-hero, of research scholarships at the

Oriental College and of a Chair as well as a Lecture Foundation at our Institute for advancement of Sanskritic studies.

2. *The Great Benefactors*

My contact with Dr. Woolner began in 1915 when as an Honours under-Graduate I had the privilege of first sitting at his feet. During the years 1917-1919, I had the rare advantage, in my Post-graduate studies, of receiving his exclusive attention, because, as chance would have it, there was no other student in my class. This opportunity, combined with the guidance that I had from him during the next two years of my incumbency as a Research Scholar at the University, really provided me with the necessary grounding on which I have been able to do my humble bit to this day.

When in the early twenties, our Institute was established at Lahore and we launched our Vedic Lexicographical Project, which is still in progress, we continued to have the constant benefit of Dr. Woolner's valuable consultation and support. His *extempore* Presidential Address to the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference (Vedic Section), held at Baroda in 1933, was briefly recorded in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Session of the Conference (pages 3 and 4). Out of a total of 61 lines of the record, as many as 27 gave an account of our aforesaid project in the following words :

"A more detailed description was then given of a monumental Dictionary—*Vaidika-sabdartha-parijata* being prepared by Pandit Vishva Bandhu of the Vishveshvaranand Research Institute, Vedic Ashram, Lahore. Each article of this Dictionary gives : (1) Derivation and Etymology, (2) Complete record of citations with references, (3) the various interpretations, classified and reviewed.

"The first fasciculus with the Introduction and 84 articles was published in 1929. It was well received and

appreciated by many scholars. The work has been continued during the last three years, and about 500 articles are now ready. Publication has been delayed, partly, in order to profit by a number of suggestions made by scholars with reference to the first instalment and, partly, on account of the attention being given to the work of indexing. This indexing is considered to be a necessary ancillary to the dictionary. A complete Word-Index is being prepared of all Vedic literature comprising the *Samhitas*, *Brahmanas*, *Āraṇyakas*, *Upaniṣads* and *Sūtras*. Of this *Vaidika-Padanukrama-Koṣa*, the second volume comprising the entire vocabulary of the *Brahmanas* and *Āraṇyakas* has been prepared and is being printed. Three other volumes remain to be completed. Every entry has been textually checked, classified, grammatically analysed and arranged under its proper radical and (from accented texts) properly accented. Often there are critical notes on the reading or accent."

It is a privilege and pleasure of mine to state here that Dr. Woolner's benedictions in this behalf have borne fruit in that the Concordance Section of the Project has since been completed in Volumes I-V, subdivided, altogether, into 16 Parts, covering about 11,000 pages and that work on the Dictionary Section of the Project is now being reorganised.

That great benefactor of the Institute kept up in his loving heart the same deep and zealous interest in the progress of its work, literally, up to the end of his noble activity on this earth. For, so did it come to pass that the last thing written in his hand was a personal note written on the 17th December, 1935, addressed to Sir George Anderson, the then Education Commissioner with the Government of India, pressing for the Institute being favoured with a grant-in-aid of Rs. 50,000/- towards its aforesaid Vedic Lexicographical Project. That very day he was overtaken by the illness from which, alas, he could not recover. How pathetic but, also, how wonderful, indeed !

Mrs. Woolner cherished exactly the same noble sentiments and high ideas as her husband did. Therefore, when

the present writer exercised the privilege of suggesting to her the aforesaid epitaph, she at once appreciated the idea and agreed to it. A Vedic text, covering the last remains of a Christian, was to be for all time a unique cultural testament declaring the fundamental harmony of the human heart. When generations pass and the conception of essential unity of all the faiths, that can uphold the man in us all, supplies the common basis for all human action, this event might receive its legitimate recognition as a very significant forerunner of the coming manifestations on the canvas of universal human culture. For obvious reasons, however, the denominational and imperial setting of the time would not permit anything like this taking place. So, there was bitter opposition from the high official circles to the proposal. But Mrs. Woolner was adamant. She had taken a position from which she would not budge an inch. In the end, they did as she wished, thereby encircling the world with a cultural monument, replete with great significance for the coming generations and a high potential for developing into a place of universal pilgrimage.*

Two years later, in the course of a special talk I had with her, she took me into her full confidence regarding her intended Will. Thereafter, she went back to England and from there told me in her letter of July 17, 1939, "I have been staying in Suffolk with old friends there, also visiting my lawyers, seeing everything was in order. Sanskrit Research and your Institute will benefit at my death and further, eventually."

Giving expression to her great love for India, she wrote to me in her letter of July 9, 1942, "If you can, in your beautiful philosophy, advise me how I can best comfort myself when I cannot rise above such a selfish depression, I shall indeed welcome it.....All you said to me before I left Lahore, is ever in my memory, I prize it exceedingly and all your letters I guard and value.....how deeply I admire the

*The related cemetery lies between the Lahore West (Mianmir) Station and the left Canal-bank.

splendid way in which you continue to carry on your noble work", . . . (and continued, quite prophetically) "Yes, I feel sure your reward is awaiting you. My love for India is so deep, and with all my heart, I trust the issue of this world chaos will work for India's great and lasting benefit." And in her letter of November 8, 1943, being the last one that I could have from her, she said, "How I wish I could see and talk with you, to be able to settle many problems that are now disturbing my mind.....A few minutes' talk with you will be consoling. Your wise and great help through these days is a continual support and I feel indeed grateful to have such a true Indian friend." Obviously, her relative, Thompson, correctly observed in his letter of March 9, 1944, "Her heart and all her thoughts were in India. . . . It is most unlikely that she would have been satisfied to settle down here after the war."

3. *The Dedication*

It is to the ever sacred memory of these noble specimens of humanity and loving benefactors of our Institute that, as decided by our Management, a new series of research and cultural works is most reverently and gratefully dedicated. This Mary Emily Woolner and Alfred Cooper Woolner Indological Series or, simply, Woolner Indological Series will incorporate works of research and cultural interest pertaining to all aspects of Indology, namely studies in and text-editions of Indian languages, literatures, religions, philosophies, histories, arts and sciences and other allied disciplines. Hallowed be for ever the two noble names which this series now goes forth to commemorate !

Most respectfully subscribed.

VISHVA BANDHU

General Editor

V. V. R. INSTITUTE,
SADHU ASHRAM, HOSHIARPUR,
June 4, 1966.

PREFACE

In this book an attempt is made to correlate the data of the *Rgveda* with the materials of the Indus Valley Civilization. It has been shown that the Indus Valley Civilization was the culmination of the cultural development in the Indo-Iranian region and its authors were the so-called Aryan people who lived there from the very dawn of humanity.

Recently, it has become clear that the early cultures of Seistan, Quetta and Kandahar afford numerous analogies with the proto-agrarian cultures of the nearby areas of central Asia and Iran, on the one hand, and are akin to the early phases of civilization in Sind and the Panjab, on the other.¹ The world from Media to Arachosia and the Panjab and from Chorasmia and Sogdiana to Gedrosia and Carmania² and Sind and Gujarat was knit up in a common cultural process, which unfolded itself with varied shades in the various regions encompassed in it. Its earliest literary remains consist of the *Avesta* and the *Veda*, the data of which deserve to be studied in the light of archaeological finds. In the present work this study has been undertaken with reference to the *Rgveda* and the remains of the Indus Valley Civilization and the community of ideas, beliefs and concepts, which combines them in the framework of a uniform socio-cultural development, in the light of the latest advances in the field of learning and research.

I take this opportunity to thank all those scholars on whose work I drew and whom I have quoted in this publication. In particular, I owe special gratitude to my learned colleagues Dr. Kapila Deva Śāstri and Dr. Śrī Nivāsa Śāstri of the

1. V. M. Masson and V. A. Romodin, *Istoriya Afghanistana*, Vol. I (Soviet Academy of Sciences, Institute of Asian Peoples, Nauka Publishing House, Moscow, 1964).

2. V. M. Masson, *Srednyaya Aziya i drevnij vostok* (USSR, Academy of Sciences, Institute of Archaeology, Leningrad Section, Nauka Publishing House, Moscow, 1964).

Sanskrit Department of the Kurukṣetra University for making some valuable suggestions. I am also beholden to the Archaeological Survey of India for providing the Plates and Photographs which have considerably added to the value of the book.

It is in the fitness of things that this book on the *Ṛgveda* is being published by the V. V. R. Institute which is the premier centre of Vedic studies in our age. I express my indebtedness to its Director, Ācārya Vishva Bandhu, whose life is an epic of sacrifice and devotion to the cause of Indic studies, for undertaking to publish this book in the Woolner Indological Series launched by it.

I also place on record my thanks to the authorities and workers of the V. V. R. I. Press for printing the book so nicely and expeditiously. I thank my son Śrī Kamleśa Kumār for doing the Index.

*Institute of Indic Studies,
Kurukṣetra,
March 31, 1966.*

BUDDHA PRAKASH

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INTRODUCTION

न एते वक्तुरभिप्रायवशादर्थान्वयत्वमपि भजन्ते मन्त्रा । न ह्येतेष्वर्थस्ये-
वतावधारणमस्ति । महार्था ह्येते दुष्परिज्ञानादयः ।

[These hymns are capable of other interpretations also according to the standpoint of the expounder. In them, certainly, there is no limitation of meaning. They are, verily, of profound meaning and hard to comprehend]

—Durga¹

Veda embodies truth. Truth is timeless. Hence Veda is eternal. But truth habits itself in the apparel of symbols. These symbols develop into words and images which have spatio-temporal contexts.² Thus, the linguistic framework and image structure of Veda has a historical aspect.

The *Rgveda* says Yaska, is so called from thinking.³ Its essence is thought. The sages and seers gazed at the world around, brooded over its wonders and mysteries, probed into its rhythms and aberrations and tried to understand its nature and trend. In moments of contemplation some streaks of truth descended on their mind, some flashes of light shot through their comprehension and some trains of intuition passed before their vision.⁴ They were seized

1 Durga on *Nirukta* II 8 (Ānandāśrama Edition) Vol. I, pp. 155-6.

2 Audumbarāyana says that words are permanent in the sense organs only, implying that they are transitory. *Nirukta*: I 1.

इन्द्रियनित्य वचनमौदुम्बरायण

3 *Nirukta* VII 12 मन्त्रा मननात् ।

4 Aupamanyava holds that the *ṛsis* are so called because they saw the hymns. Yaska cites the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (II, 9) to show that they are designated by this word because the self-born Brahman manifested himself to them while they were practising austerities. *Nirukta* II 11.

ऋषिर्दत्तनात् । स्तोमान्वदसौत्यौपमन्यव । तद्यदेनास्तपस्यमानान् ब्रह्म
स्वयम्भूयानर्षत्तद्वीणामृषित्वमिति विज्ञायते ।

with an urge to formulate their revelation, moved by an impetus to give it expression and agitated by a restlessness to pour it out through all agencies of extroversion of which their personalities were capable. They struggled through gesture and sound, but, since words are the most comprehensive and minute means of expression and communication,⁵ they took recourse to them, and, adding to them the extra powers of rhyme and image and figures of speech, created the beautiful poetry of the Vedas. Thus, the outward equipment of words, images and symbols of the Vedas has a definite background of time and space, which raises the problem of interpretation, as the ancient people fully understood. A perusal of the pages of Yāska shows how divergent were the views of the people regarding the interpretation of Vedic words, images and ideas.

The earliest elaboration or interpretation of the hymns is found in the Brāhmaṇas, where we come across the correlation of rituals with cosmic symbolism. According to them, the dynamism of cosmic expanses is reflected in the ritual observances of man. As a result, the Vedic ritual acts as the link between man and the cosmos. Through it, man imbibes its harmony and identifies his being with its behaviour. In other words, it enables him to propitiate and harness nature for his interest and benefit. Thus, the meticulous performance of ritual is the duty of every person.

The Brāhmaṇas view the Vedas and the rituals, enjoined in them, as the correlates of the cosmic system. The Ṛks are the earth, the Yajus, the air, and the Sāmans, the sky.⁶ Correspondingly, Agni belongs to the earth, Indra or Vāyu to the air, and Sūrya to the sky.⁷ Hence, by the Ṛks

5. *Ibid.*, I. 2 व्याप्तिमत्त्वात् शब्दस्याणीयस्त्वाच्च शब्देन संज्ञाकरणं व्यवहारार्थं लोके ।

6. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV. 6. 7. 1 :

त्रयी वै विद्या । ऋचो य्यजू ९ षि सामानीयमेवर्चोऽस्या ९ ह्यर्चन्ति योऽर्चन्ति स स्वागेवर्चो वाचा ह्यर्चन्ति सोऽन्तरिक्षमेव यजू ९ षि द्यौः सामानि ।

7. *Nirukta*, VII. 5. अग्निः पृथिवीस्थानः वायुर्वेन्द्रो वाऽन्तरिक्षस्थानः सूर्यो द्युस्थानः ।

man conquers the earth, by the Yajus, the air, and by the Sāmans, the sky,⁸ and, in this process, also propitiates Agni, Indra and Sūrya. Thus, by this triad he conquers the whole cosmos consisting of the three regions of the earth, atmosphere and sky. This is possible through the performance of the Soma ritual, since in it all the three Vedas combine.⁹ In this way, the Soma ritual, the three Vedas and the cosmos are complementary and correlated. From this point of view, the essence of the Vedas is the performance of the ritual in the correct manner. This led to the growth of the ritualist (*yājñika*) interpretation of the Vedas, which, in course of time, developed in the two schools of the old ritualists (*pūrve yājñikah*) and current ritualists (*yājñikah*), noted by Yāska. Though it is difficult to ascertain the difference in the standpoints of these two schools, it can be conjectured from the scanty notes of Yaska that the former kept closer to the cosmic symbolism than the latter. In a solitary reference to the old ritualists he states that they identified the Vaiśvanara Agni with the sun who pierces the cloud and breaks its statis.¹⁰ This view is also found in the *Brhaddevata* (I 67) and the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (IX 3 1 25). But the current ritualists concentrated on the details of the ceremonies and sacrifices and interpreted the texts in their light. For instance, they took the text, referring to the drinking of thirty

8 *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* IV 6 7 2

इममेव लोकमुचा जयति । अन्तरिक्षं य्यजुषा । दिवमेव साम्ना ।

9 *Ibid* IV 6 7 1 सैषा त्रयी विद्या सौम्येऽश्वरे प्रयुज्यते ।

10 *Nirukta* VII 23 अथासावादित्य इति पूर्वे याज्ञिका । Regarding the *Pūrvayājñika* Skandasvāmīn (*Skandabhāṣya* Vol III p 89) observes याज्ञिका इति यज्ञसहचरित यज्ञस्य अधीयते विदुर्वा ये ते याज्ञिका भण्यन्ते । पूर्ववचनात् षाष्टिकानां साक्षात्कृतधर्मणा उपलक्षणार्थं वा । ते हि शास्त्रक्रमं च दृष्ट्वा वैश्वानरशब्दस्य आदित्यविषया ऊह्यं चक्रिरे । Durga says विधिमन्त्रार्थवादेभ्यो यज्ञसत्त्वमुन्नीय एनं यज्ञं प्रयोगतः प्रथमं चक्रुस्ते पूर्वे याज्ञिका ।

lakes full of soma in one draught¹¹ by Indra, to mean that he accepted the thirty libation vessels filled with soma juice at the meridional pressing.¹² Likewise, they took the cow, lowing after the blinking calf and swelling with warm milk, literally as the animal milked for sacrificial purposes¹³, whereas the Nairuktas interpreted her as the cosmos begetting the sun and providing the vital sap of life. Similarly, they thought that Anumati and Rākā are the days of full moon and Sinivālī and Kuhū are the days on which the moon is invisible, not the wives of gods as the Nairuktas contended.¹⁴ They also held that all those mantras, whose deities are not specified, belong to Prajāpati.¹⁵ Some of the dichards like Kāthakya said that everything in the text has only a ritual connotation: the lord of the herbs signifies the sacrificial post,¹⁶ Śūnah and Sira are crop and season,¹⁷ and Idhma¹⁸ and Narāsaṁśa¹⁹ stand for the sacrifice. Others like Svaidāyana Śaunaka interpreted the naturalistic and cosmogonic aspects of the Darśapaurṇamāsa sacrifice in purely ritualistic terms.²⁰ From this view followed the hedonistic standpoint, like that of Krauṣṭiki, that Indra is the giver of wealth and strength and we implore and

11. *Rgveda*. VIII. 77. 4 :

एकेया प्रतिधा पिबत्याकं मरसि त्रिशतम् । इन्द्रः सोमस्य काण्डका ।

12. *Nirukta*, V. 11 : तत्रैतद् याजिका वेदयन्ते । त्रिशदुक्तपात्राणि माध्यन्दिने सवन एकदेवतानि । तान्येतस्मिन् काल एकेन प्रतिधानेन पिबन्ति ।

13. *Ibid.*, XI 42 : धर्मधुमिति याजिकाः ।

14. *Ibid.*, XI 29-31 : अनुमति राकेति देवपत्याविति नैरुक्ताः, पीर्णमास्याविति याजिकाः । सिनीवाली कुहूरिति देवपत्याविति नैरुक्ताः, अमावास्ये इति याजिकाः ।

15. *Ibid.*, VII. 4 : अथान्यत्र यज्ञात्प्राजापत्या इति याजिकाः ।

16. *Ibid.*, VIII 17 : तत्को वनस्पतिः । यूप इति कात्यक्यः ।

17. *Ibid.*, IX, 41 : सस्यं च समा चेति कात्यक्यः ।

18. *Ibid.*, VIII. 5 : यज्ञेध्म इति कात्यक्यः ।

19. *Ibid.*, VIII, 6 : नराशंसो यज्ञ इति कात्यक्यः ।

20. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*. XI. 4. 1,

propitiate him for receiving these gifts.²¹ The idea of worship for material gain came in for criticism at the hands of the advocates of the doctrine of disinterested action, as we gather from the *Gita*.²²

The ritualist and hedonistic interpretation of the Veda was concomitant with the ascendancy of the priestly class. The intricacy and complexity of the rituals necessitated a class of specialists and invested it with a dominant status. Hence we find the Brāhmanas proclaiming that the priests were gods among men or gods in the guise of men.²³ As it was obligatory for men to please the gods in heaven by oblations, so it was necessary for them to propitiate the priests with fees.²⁴ If pleased, the priests could take the whole realms, including the kings, armies and peoples, to heaven²⁵, if displeased, they could cause serious loss or damage to the sacrificer and even kill or blind him.²⁶ The purely professional attitude of the priests is manifest from the fact that they were on the lookout for the sacrificers, just as the craftsmen were eager for broken objects, which they could mend, or the physicians were desirous

21. *Nirukta* VIII. 2 : तत्को द्रविणोदाः । इन्द्र इति क्रौष्टिकः । स बलधनयोदतृप्तम् ।

22. *Bhagavadgita*, II. 42-3

यामिमां पुष्पितां वाचं प्रवदन्त्यविपश्चितः ।

वेदवादरताः पार्थ नान्यदस्तीतिवादिनः ॥

कामात्मानः स्वर्गपरा जन्मकर्मफलप्रदाम् ।

क्रियाविशेषबहुलां भोगैश्वर्यगतिं प्रति ॥

23. *Satapatha Brāhmana*, II. 2 26 : इया वै देवाः । देवा अह वै देवाः । अथ ये ब्राह्मणाः शुश्रुवांसोऽनूचानास्ते मनुष्यदेवाः ।

24. *Gopatha Brāhmana*, II. 1. 6 : आहुतिभिरेव देवान् हुतादः प्रीणाति दक्षिणाभिर्मनुष्यदेवान् ।

25. *Aitareya Brāhmana*, VIII. 24 : अग्निर्वा एष वैदेवानरः पंचनेमिर्यत् पुरोहितः । स एवं (राजानं) शान्ततनुरभिहतोऽभिप्रीतः स्वर्गं लोकमभिवहति क्षत्रं च बलं च राष्ट्रं च विशं च ।

26. *Ibid.*, III. 3 : यं कामयेत् प्राणेनैनं व्यर्धयानीति । यं कामयेत् चक्षुषेन व्यर्धयानीति ।

of patients, whom they could treat.²⁷ It was clearly laid down that a ritual could not proceed without fees, as a cart could not move without bullocks.²⁸ In an Agnihotra the fees must be in the form of gold²⁹, if it was in silver, weeping and mourning were bound to occur in the house of the sacrificer within a year.³⁰

Besides the aforesaid interpretation of the Vedas, there were many other schools of exegesis, most of which have now faded into oblivion. One such school was that of the historians or mythologists (*aitihāsikas*) who attributed historical personalities to Vedic characters and located their activities in the settings of events with spatio-temporal contexts. For instance, they held that Vṛtra was an asura, the son of Tvastṛ,³¹ the Aśvins were two pious kings,³² Saranyu was the daughter of Tvastṛ, and the twins, she bore to Vivasvat and eventually deserted, were Yama and Yami,³³ In their view Devāpi and Śantanu, sons of Ṛtisiṇa, mentioned in *Rgveda* X. 98. 5-7, were Kauravya princes. The former was elder and, thus, entitled to the throne, but the latter, though younger, supplanted him and himself became king. From that time it did not rain for twelve years and people died of drought and famine. Śantanu consulted the Brāhmanas who

27. *Rgveda*, IX. 112. 1 :

तक्षो रिष्टं हृतं मिषम् दद्यात् सुन्वन्तेभिन्धुनीन्द्रायिन्द्रो परिस्त्रव ।

28. *Antareya Brāhmana*, VI. 35 दक्षिणा वै यज्ञानां पुरोगवी । यथा ह व इदमनोऽग्रेगवं रिष्यति, एवं ह वै यज्ञोऽदक्षिणो रिष्यति ।

29. *Satapatha Brāhmana*, II. 2. 3. 28 : तस्य हिरण्यं दक्षिणा ।

30. *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, X. 2. 34 :

न रजतं दद्यात् ब्रह्मिणि 'पुरास्य संवत्सरात् वृहे हन्ती' ति श्रुतेः ।

31. *Nirukta*, II. 16 : तत्को वृत्रः ? स्वाष्ट्रोऽमुर् इत्यैतिहासिकाः ।

32. *Ibid.*, XII : 1 : तत्कावश्विनौ ? राजानौ पुष्पकृतावित्यैतिहासिकाः ।

Skanda (Vol. III, p. 97) adds राजानौ इत्यौषधाममतेन ।

33. *Ibid.*, XII. 10 : यमं च यमीं च इत्यैतिहासिकाः । तत्रैतिहासमाचक्षते । स्वाष्ट्री सरण्यविवस्वत आदित्याद् यमौ मिथुनौ जनयाञ्चकार । सा सबर्णामन्यां प्रतिनिधायास्वं रूपं कृत्वा प्रदुद्राव ।

said that he had committed an act of unrighteousness by ascending the throne having put his elder brother aside. Thereupon Śantanu called Devāpi from his forest retreat, where he was practising austerities, and sought to invest him with sovereignty. But Devāpi said that he would rather be his priest and sacrifice for him so that it may start raining. In consequence of his sacrifice, rain came in torrents from the upper realm to the earth and filled the seas.³⁴ Yāska considers this narrative as a dialogue (*saṃvāda*) and Śaunaka treats it as history (*itihasa*),³⁵ but the Nairuktas say that Ārṣṭiseṇa is the earthly fire and Śantanu, the sacrificer, and that the former assists the latter in securing happiness. However, the historical aspect of this episode is so strong that Durga is compelled to quote it along with the Nairukta view. The historians' view is also quoted by Yāska in his comments on *Rgveda* X. 82. 2. According to them, Viśvakarman, mentioned in it, was the son of Bhuvana. He sacrificed all beings in a universal sacrifice, sacrificing even himself at the end. But the Ādhyatmavids treated him as the soul controlling the seven senses and the Nairuktas considered him the sun dominating over the seven luminaries. The *Bṛhaddevata* quotes about forty myths and legends about Vedic characters which must have been current among the Aitihāsikas. It is, thus, the earliest collection of myths and legends, which later developed into the Great Epic.

Śabarasvāmin in his comments on *Mīmāṃsā* I. 1. 28 cites the views of those, who considered the Veda historical

34. *Ibid.*, II. 10-11 : तत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते । देवापिदक्षाष्टिषेणः शंतनुश्च कौरव्यो भ्रातरौ बभूवतुः । स शंतनुः कनीयानभिषेचयाञ्चक्रे देवापिस्तपः प्रतिपेदे । ततः शंतनो राज्ये द्वादशवर्षाणि देवो न वर्ष । तमूचुर्ब्राह्मणाः । अथमंस्तव्याचरितः । ज्येष्ठं भ्रातरमन्तरित्याभिषेचितम् । तस्मात्ते देवो न वर्षतीति । स शंतनुर्देवापि शिक्षा राज्येन । तमुवाच देवापिः । पुरोहितस्तेजसानि । याजयानि च त्वेति ।

35. *Bṛhaddevata*, VII, 153 :

आह्वानं प्रति चाख्यानमितरेतरयोरिदम् ।
संवाचं मन्यन्ते सास्क इतिहासं तु शीनकः ।

in character and hence subject to the process of time. They held that the Vedic mantras have a definite existence in time and therefore cannot be treated as eternal. The expressions 'Babara Prāvāhaṇi desired', or 'Kusurubinda Auddālaki desired' demonstrate that the texts, mentioning them, cannot be anterior to Prāvāhaṇi and Auddālaki respectively and are thus relative to time.³⁷ Likewise, the allusions of specific persons in the Vedas and the naming of different recensions after individuals as Kāṭhaka, Kālāpaka, Paippalādaka, Maudgala prove that they observe some chronological sequence.³⁸ Language presupposes men, speech implies speakers, words follow individuals.³⁹ The Vedas, having a linguistic conspectus or speech pattern, consisting of words, must, therefore, be the creations of men⁴⁰ though their names may have been lost to us.⁴¹

History is the philosophy of transitoriness (*anityadarśana*). All its assertions are relative to time and place. All its postulates have reference to particular situations and circumstances. This is what Skandasvāmin means when he says that all statements of history have certain objects (*arthavādāmūlabhūtāḥ*) and are oriented by ulterior motives

36. *Nirukta*, X. 26 : विश्वकर्मा भोवनः सर्वमेवे सर्वाणि भूतानि जुह्वाञ्चकार । सः आत्मानमपि अन्ततः जुह्वाञ्चकार ।

37. *Mīmāṃsāsūtra*, I. 1. 28 : अनित्यदर्शनाच्च । Śabara's comment: जननमरणवन्तश्च वेदार्थाः श्रूयन्ते 'बबरः प्रावाहणिरिकामयत,' 'कुसुरबिन्दुः औद्दालकिरकामयत' इत्येवमादयः । उद्दालकस्यापत्यं गम्यते औद्दालकिः यद्येवम् प्रागौद्दालकिजन्मनो नायं ग्रन्थो भूतपूर्वः एवमप्यनित्यता । S. K. Rāmanātha Śāstrī, *Brhatī of Prabhākaramiśra* (Tarkapada) University of Madras, 1934, p. 403.

38. *Mīmāṃsāsūtra*, I. 1. 27 : वेदांश्चैके सन्निकर्षं पुरुषाख्याः । Śabara's comment : पुरुषेण हि समाख्यायन्ते वेदाः—काठकं, कालापकं पैपलादकं मौद्गलमिति । *Ibid.*, p. 402.

39. *Ibid.*, न च पुरुषस्य शब्देनास्ति सम्बन्धोऽन्यदतः—कर्ता पुरुषः कार्यः शब्द इति ।

40. *Ibid.*, तत्र पुरुषेयाश्चेद्वेदाः असंशयं पुरुषेय्यः चोदनाः ।

41. *Ibid.*, अस्मर्यमाणोऽपि चोदनायाः कर्ता स्यात् ।

(*anyaparah*) and thus invented to explain the meanings of the injunctions relating to commendation and condemnation or prescription and prohibition (*vidhipratishedhaseṣabhūta*).⁴² Elsewhere he remarks that historical anecdotes are incidental and conventional in the hymns.⁴³ Therefore, it is one's duty to penetrate through the superficial connotation of passing character to the profound significance of enduring nature.⁴⁴

As said above, the historians treat the Vedas as man-made and relative to time and place. This involves a critical and logical approach to their contents and necessitates a confrontation and correlation of the statements found in them. It has to be seen if they can be consistently arranged and coherently interpreted and synthesised in an organic pattern. Starting with this approach, a hypercritical literalist and positivist like Kautsa found nothing but platitudes, improbabilities, contradictions, tautologies and obscurities in the Vedas. Remarks like 'spread it wide', 'let me move out', occurring in them, are enjoined by the priest⁴⁵; injunctions like 'save him O plant', 'do not injure him O axe', make no sense⁴⁶; statements like 'there was but one Rudra and no second' and 'Rudras who on earth are thousands without number', or 'O Indra, thou art born without a foe', and 'Indra vanquished hundred armies together', are contradictory⁴⁷; exhortations like 'address the hymn to Agni

42. Lakṣmaṇa Svartipa Commentary of Skandasvāmin and Mahēvara on the Nirukta (University of Panjab, Lahore, 1931) Vol. II, p. 93

सर्वे इतिहासाश्च अर्थवादमूलभूताः । ते चान्यपराः विधिप्रतिषेधशेषभूताः ।

43. *Ibid* . Vol. II, p. 78 : औपचारिकस्तु मन्त्रेषु आख्यानसमयः ।

44. *Ibid* परमार्थेन तु नित्यपक्ष इति सिद्धम् ।

45. *Nirukta*, I. 15 अथापि ब्राह्मणेन रूपसम्पन्ना विधीयन्ते उरु प्रबन्ध । इति प्रथयति । प्रोहणं । इति प्रोहति ।

46. *Ibid* , अथाप्यनुपपन्नार्था भवन्ति । ओषधे त्रायस्वैनम् । स्वर्धिते मर्न हिंसीः । इत्याह हिंसन् ।

47. *Ibid* , अथापि विप्रतिषिद्धान्ता भवन्ति । एक एव रुद्रोऽवतस्थे न द्वितीयः । असंख्याता सहस्राणि ये रुद्रा अग्नि भूभ्याम् । अशत्रुरिन्द्र जज्ञिषे । शतं सेना अजयत् साकमिन्द्रः ।

which is being kindled' are commonplace and tautologous⁴⁸; hymns like 'Aditi is heaven', 'Aditi is atmosphere', are inconsistent and incoherent⁴⁹; and expressions like *amyak*, *yadāmin*, *jārayayi kaṇuka* are obscure and uncommon.⁵⁰ From these features he concluded that the Vedic hymns have no meaning.⁵¹

Śabarāsvāmin in his comments on *Mīmāṃsā* I. 1. 7. 31-2 cites the arguments of these thinkers and says that they regard the Vedas as the babbles of mad children.⁵² They quote the texts 'plants come to the sacrifice', 'snakes come to the sacrifice', 'old cow sings the madrakas', and question how the plants and the snakes come to the sacrifice and the old cow sings.⁵³ Some of them, like the Kāvaṣeyas, openly declare that, since the very act of living and breathing is a *yajña*, we need not perform any sacrifice, and, because every living being is an authoritative person, we need not rely on the Vedas.⁵⁴ In utter disgust, they cry : "people say, 'hymn, hymn', this earth, indeed, is the hymn for all; whatever exists springs from it."⁵⁵ In the same vein the

48. *Ibid.*, अथर्वि जानन्न मंत्रेष्वपि । अग्नये यमिध्यमानाशानुवृहि ।

49. *Ibid.*, अथाप्याहादिति. सर्वमिति । अदितिर्दीर्घादितिरन्तरिक्षम् ।

50. *Ibid.*, अथाप्यविस्पष्टार्था भवन्ति । अम्यक्, गुह्यमिन्, जारयाभि, काणुका इति ।

51. *Ibid.*, अनर्थका हि मंत्राः ।

52. S. K. Rāmanāṣha Śāstri, *Bṛhatī of Prabhākaramiśra*, Vol. I, p. 405 : अथ कथमवगम्यते—नायमुन्मत्तबालवाक्यसदृश इति ?

53. *Ibid.*, I, p 406 : तथा हि पश्यामः 'वनस्पतयः सत्रमासत' 'सर्पाः सत्रमासत' इति यथा 'जरद्गवो गायति मद्रकाणि', कथं नाम जरद्गवो गायेत ? कथं वा वनस्पतयः सर्पा वा सत्रमासीरन् ? इति ।

54. Aitareya *Āraṇyaka* III, 2 6, ed. A. B Keith, p. 139 :

एतद्व स्म वै तद्विद्वांस आहुर्ऋषयः कावषेयाः किमर्था वयमध्येष्यामहे किमर्था वयं यक्ष्यामहे । वाचि हि प्राणं जुहुमः प्राणे वा वाचं यो ह्येव प्रभवः स एवाप्ययः ।

55. *Ibid.*, II, 1 2, p 101 .

सकथमुक्थमिति वै प्रजा वदन्ति तद्विदमेवोक्थमियमेव पृथिवीतो ह्रीवं सर्वमुत्तिष्ठति यदिदं किञ्च ।

Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad says : "Unsafe boats, however, are these sacrificial forms, the eighteen, in which is expressed the lower work. The fools, who approve that as the better, go again to old age and death."⁵⁶

The aforesaid challenge was met by other schools of thought, which based their views on the cosmic symbolism and naturalist interpretation underlying the exegesis of the Brāhmaṇas.⁵⁷ But they readily realised that the combination of ritualist explanation with cosmic symbolism, attempted in the Brāhmaṇa texts, was untenable, since the former was the most vulnerable aspect of Vedic interpretation and exposed it to the assaults of sceptics and critics. Hence they disengaged the naturalist standpoint from the ritualist angle of vision and concentrated on it, associating and reinforcing it with linguistic rationalism. They held that the words of the hymns had clear meanings which could be understood through their grammatical and etymological structure and that those meanings referred to cosmic phenomena and natural occurrences. Among them the Naidānas and Nairuktas deserve special treatment.

56. R. E. Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads*, p. 358. The text is *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* I. 2. 7 :

प्लवा ह्येतेऽवुडा यज्ञरूपा अष्टादशोक्तमवरं येषु कर्म ।
एतच्छ्रेयो येषभिनन्दन्ति मूढा जरामृत्युं ते पुनरेवापि यन्ति ॥

The eighteen texts, mentioned here, are enumerated in the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* I. 1. 5, as the four Vedas, each including Samhita, Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra, and, in addition, the six vedāṅgas : śikṣā, kalpa, vyākaraṇa, nirukta, chandas and jyotiṣa.

57. See, for instance, the Brāhmaṇa view of the Aśvins in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* IV. 1. 5. 16. अथ यदश्विनावित्येमे ह वै छावापृथिवी । प्रत्यक्षमश्विनाविमे ह्रीदं सर्वमश्नुवाताम् । Cp. *Bṛhaddevata*, VII. 126.7 :

सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ तौ हि प्राणापानौ च तौ स्मृतौ ।
अहोरात्रौ च तावेव स्यातां तावेव रोदसी ॥
अश्नुवाते हि तौ लोकान् ज्योतिषा च रसेन च ।
पृथक् पृथक् च चरतो दक्षिणेनोत्तरेण च ॥

The Naidīnas or causalists derived their ideas from the book called *Nidīna*.⁵⁸ The two instances of their exegetical methodology, given by Yāska, show that it was by and large etymological in character. Deriving the word *sama* from *sama* they held that the chants of the *Samaveda* were equal to the verses of the *Rgveda*.⁵⁹ Likewise, tracing the word *syala*, meaning a brother-in-law, to *sad* and *yuj*, they said that he was so called because he became a near relative by marriage relation.⁶⁰ Though, in the absence of more details, it is difficult to form a clear idea of their method of interpretation, it can be assumed, on the basis of the aforesaid two examples, that they took their cue from what they considered primary causes and sought recourse to etymological exercises to ascertain and illustrate them.

The Nairuktas combined etymology with naturalism. Thanks to the *Nirukta* of Yāska, we have a comprehensive view of their method and system. Their basic position was that the universe consists of three spheres, earth, atmosphere and sky, corresponding to which there are three gods : Agni on earth, Indra or Vāyu in the atmosphere and Sūrya in the sky. Of these three gods, each receives many names on account of his supereminence, or the diversity of his function, just as a priest, although he is one, is called the *hotṛ*, *adhvaryu*, *udgātṛ* and *brahma*.⁶¹ These names and forms represent the divers aspects and phenomena of nature in the aforesaid three spheres. They also held that all names and nouns are derived from verbs⁶² and, to understand

58. Skandasvāmin on *Nirukta*, VI. 9 निदानं नाम ग्रन्थस्तद्विदो नैदानाः । Durga on *Nirukta*, VII. 12 निदानमिति ग्रन्थस्तद्विदो नैदानाः ।

59. *Nirukta*, VII. 12 :

साम सम्मितमृचा । स्पतेर्वा । ऋचा समं मेने इति नैदानाः ।

60. *Nirukta*, VI. 19 : स्याल आसन्नः संयोगेनेति नैदानाः ।

61. *Ibid.*, VII. 5 : तिल एव देवता इति नैरुक्ताः । अग्निः पृथिवीस्थानः । वायुर्वन्दो वान्तरिक्षस्थानः । सूर्यो शुस्यावः । तासां माहाभाष्यादेकैकस्या अपि बहूनि नामधेयानि भवन्ति । अपि वा कर्मपुयक्त्वात् । यथा होताध्वर्युर्ब्रह्मोद्गातेत्यप्येकस्य सतः ।

62. *Ibid.*, I. 12 : तत्र नामानि आख्यातजानीति शाकटायनो नैरुक्त-समयश्च ।

their correct import, one has to take resort to etymology and grammar. This synthesis of etymological and naturalist interpretation often landed the Nairuktas into grotesque positions. For instance, the word *aditya*, meaning the sun, is derived from *a+da* or *a+dip* simply to describe his various aspects : he takes up (*adatte*) earthly liquids (*rasan*) in the shape of vapour ; he takes in (*adatte*) the light (*bhasam*) of other luminaries (*jyotiṣam*) showing that other luminaries become invisible in sunlight ; he is illumined on all sides (*adiptaḥ*) by light (*bhasa*). The derivation of this word from *aditi* as *aditeḥ putraḥ* is relegated to the last place because it refers to a myth or history which cannot be reconciled to naturalist aspects. Likewise, *Vṛtra* is interpreted as the cloud and his fight with Indra is taken to represent the phenomenon of the piercing of the cloud by lightning and the consequent pouring of rain.⁶³ But in the mantras *Vṛtra* is described as *Ahi* (snake) and in the *Brāhmaṇas* he is represented as an *Asura*. He is shown to have hemmed in the waters, but, as *Rajvade* has remarked, there is no suggestion in the hymns that he did so by inflating his body, as the *Nairuktas* have supposed.⁶⁴ In order to maintain the consistency of the interpretation of *Vṛtra* as cloud, the *Nairuktas* have derived the word *Ahi* from the root *iṇ* or *aya*, meaning to move⁶⁵, as $i+iḥ=e+iḥ=ay+iḥ=ayīḥ=ahiḥ$ or $ay+iḥ=ayiḥ=ahiḥ$,

63. *Ibid.*, II. 16 : तत्को वृत्रः । मेघ इति नैरुक्ताः । अपां च ज्योतिषश्च मिथीभावकर्मणो वर्षकर्म जायते । तत्रोपमार्थेन युद्धवर्णा भवन्ति अहिबलु खलु मंत्रवर्णा ब्राह्मणवादाश्च । *Durga* observes : अपां च मेघोदरान्तर्गतानां ज्योतिषश्च वैद्युतस्य उद्भूतवृत्तेः मिथीभावकर्मणः वर्षकर्म जायते । तेन हि वैद्युतेन ज्योतिषा वाय्वावेष्टितेन इन्द्राख्येन उपताप्यमाना अपाः प्रस्यन्दन्ते वर्षभावाय प्रकल्पन्ते ।

64. विवृद्धया शरीरस्य स्रोतांसि निवारयाञ्चकार । तस्मिन् ह्ये प्रसस्यन्दिरे अपाः । For V. K. *Rajvade's* comments see *Yaska's Nirukta* Vol. I. (*Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1940*) pp. 372-3.

65. *Ibid.*, II. 17 : अहिः अयनात् । एति अन्तरिक्षे । अयमपीतरो ऽहिः एतस्मादेव ।

and taken it in the sense of one that moves, that is to say, the cloud, which floats. Here they have not bothered to explain how *yi* in *ahi* became *hi* and have ignored the very obvious connection of this word with the root *han* meaning to kill or bite.⁶⁶ As regards the word *vr̥tra*, Yāska suggests that it should be derived from *vr̥* (to cover), or *vr̥t* (to roll) or *vr̥dh* (to grow)⁶⁷, but Benveniste and Renou have shown that it comes from *var*, meaning 'to resist', and means 'resistance' or an 'enemy'.⁶⁸ Though Sāyana generally equates *vr̥tra* with cloud⁶⁹, he also at some places takes it to mean an enemy.⁷⁰ The cloud is always the bringer of rain, how it is deemed to be its obstructor is not clear. As for Indra, he is variously identified with the thunderbolt, the sun the conqueror of the demon of winter or darkness, the vault of heaven and the fertility god, associated with rich harvests, but as Hopkins says, "if he be taken, as he is found in the hymns, it will be noticed at once that he is too 'stormy' to be the 'sun', too 'luminous' to be the 'storm', too near the phenomena of the monsoon to be the 'year' or the 'sky', too 'rainy' to be 'fire', too alien from every one thing to be any one thing."⁷¹

The Nairuktas treat Usas as a natural phenomenon (*rātreh aparāḥ kalāḥ*). The description of the sun as her son

66. *Ibid.*, निह्नंसितोपसंगः प्राहन्तीति ।

67. *Ibid.*, II. 5.

68. E. Benveniste and L. Renou, *Vr̥tra et Vr̥thragna; Étude de mythologie indo-iranienne*, pp. 68 ff.

69. Sāyana on *R̥gveda* II. 12. 3: यः अहिं मेघं हत्वा मेघहननं कृत्वा सप्त सर्वणशीलाः सिन्धून् स्यन्दनशीला अपः अरिणात् प्रैरयत् । On *Rv.* III. 33. 6: तादृशं वृत्रं वृणोत्याकाशमिति वृत्रो मेघः । तं मेघमपाहन् जघान ।

70. Sāyana on *Rv.* VI. 54. 2: इन्द्रः संख्या मित्रभूतेन पूष्णा युजा सहायभूतेन युक्तः सन्वत्राणि शत्रून् जिघ्नते हन्ति । On *Rv.* VI. 57. 3: स चेन्द्रस्ताभ्यां वृत्राणि शत्रून् जिघ्नते हन्ति । On *Rv.* VII. 83. 9: एक इन्द्रः वृत्राणि शत्रून् समिधेषु संघामेषु जिघ्नते हन्ति ।

71. E. Washburn Hopkins, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 36, p. 242.

is merely a metaphorical indication of their closeness in time. The epithet *samānabandhu* (Rv. 1. 113. 2) only shows that the sun is the common tie between night and dawn. It is wrong to think that *bandhu* means father. Likewise, *jara* of Rv. X. 11. 6 does not mean an adulterer but one who causes night to grow old or vanish or causes the decay or disappearance of the light of the dawn.⁷² But in Rv. IX. 38. 4, IX. 96. 23, IX. 101. 14, IX. 32. 5 this word is clearly used in the sense of adultery. Since the Nairuktas disliked the idea of adulterous relation between gods they distorted the etymology of the word *jara* to suit their conception.

In Rv. VI. 61. 2 Sarasvati is called *pāravataghñī* or a river which strikes the three heavens with its violent waters. Yāska could not understand how the water of any river, howsoever violent, could strike heaven. He, therefore, changed *pārāvata* into *pārāvāra*, which means the two banks of a river against which its waters would clash at flood-time.

In Rv. III. 30. 17 we find the word *salaluka*, which the Nairuktas interpret as sinful, but Yāska suggests that it may be amended as *sararūka* formed by reduplicating the root *sr* and meaning that which moves everywhere.

It is clear from the above instances that sometimes the Nairuktas took liberties with the accepted readings and meanings of words of the Vedas. But, as Rajavade has shown, Yāska was not an ultra-nairukta. He sometimes subscribed to other schools of interpretation also. For instance, his derivations of *pr̥śnī*, *naka* and *viṣṭapa*, when they mean heaven, are based on the opinion of the historians or mythologists who thought that heaven was the place where the meritorious were transferred after death.⁷³ The *Bṛhaddevatā* states that Yāska treated the episode of Apālā in Rv. VIII. 92-93 as history or *itihāsa*.⁷⁴ Likewise,

72. *Nirukta*, III. 16 : आदित्योऽत्र जार उच्यते । रात्रेर्जरयिता । स एव भासाम् ।

73. V. K. Rajavade, *Yāska's Nirukta*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. XXV.

74. *Bṛhaddevatā*, VI. 107 : इतिहासमिदं सूक्तम् आहुतु-
मीत्स्वभापुरी ।

according to this work, he considered the episode of Saranyū, mentioned in Rv. X. 17, as the *itihāsa* (history) of Vivasvat and Tvaṣṭṛ.⁷⁵ In the view of the author of this text, he took the expression *pancajanaḥ* in the sense of five actual peoples and thus differed from Śākapiṇi, who treated them as hotr, adhvaryu, udgātṛ, brahmā and yajamāna, the Ādhyātmavādins, who interpreted them as the eye, ear, mind, speech and breath, and the Yājñikas, who extended their connotation to include the other terrestrial creatures and divine beings, besides the gods, men, fathers, serpents and gandharvas, who receive worship.⁷⁶ While interpreting Rv. I. 170. 1, Yāska refers to the episode of Agastya, who, having assigned an oblation to Indra, desired to offer it to the Maruts, on which Indra expressed his remonstrance.⁷⁷ This episode is called 'ancient history' and narrated at length in the *Bṛhaddevata*.⁷⁸

Besides the aforesaid interpretations along historical lines, Yāska sometimes approaches some hymns from the ritualist or *yājñika* standpoint. For instance, he interprets Rv. X. 71. 11 in purely ritualist terms and says that it declares the duties of the priests officiating at a sacrifice.⁷⁹

75. *Ibid.*, VII 7 :

इतिहासमिं यास्कः सरण्यूदेवतेद्वयुचे ।

विवस्वतश्च त्वष्टुश्च त्वष्टेति सह मन्यते ॥

76. *Ibid.*, VII. 68 यास्कौपमन्यवावेतान् ब्राह्मणः पञ्च वै जनान्

77. *Nirukta*, I 5: अगस्त्य इन्द्राय हविर्निर्ह्वय मरुद्भ्यः संप्रदिस्तां चकार । स इन्द्र एत्य परिदेवयाञ्चके ।

78. *Bṛhaddevatā*, IV, 46 et. seq.

इतिहासः पुरावृत्त ऋषिभिः परिकीर्त्यते ।

समागच्छन्महद्भिस्तु चरन्व्योमिन् क्षतक्रतुः ॥

79. *R̥gveda*, X. 71. 11 :

ऋचां त्वः पोषमास्ते पुषुष्वान्गायत्रं त्वो गायति शक्वरीषु ।

ब्रह्मा त्वो वदति जातविद्यां यज्ञस्य मात्रां विमिमीत उ त्वः ॥

Nirukta, I. 8: इति ऋत्विक्कर्मणां विनियोगमाचष्टे । ऋचाम् एकः

पोषमास्ते पुषुष्वान् होता । ऋगर्चनी । गायत्रम् एको गायति शक्वरीषु उद्गाता ।
...ब्रह्मा एको जाते जाते विद्यां वदति । ...यज्ञस्य मात्रां विमिमीते एकः अध्वर्युः ।

The *hotṛ* recites the Ṛks, which are means of worshipping ; the *udgātṛ* chants the *gayatra* hymn in the *śakvarī* measure ; the *brahma* expounds the science of every being and the *adhvaryu* directs the sacrifice. Here Yāska does not interpret this *ṛk* in terms of natural phenomena according to the Nairukta practice, but gives its ritualist connotation.

Yāska also shows a leaning towards the Ādhyātmika trend of thought. He states that ritualistic (*yājña*) or deistic (*daivata*) or spiritualistic (*ādhyātma*) meaning is the fruit and flower of speech.⁸⁰ Commenting on the Asyavāmiya sūkta he adds that the “sages speak of this Agni, the great soul, in many ways.”⁸¹ Here Agni is not treated as a natural phenomenon, but is identified with the basic spiritual reality. Again, referring to the deities of the introductory and concluding oblations (*prayāja*, *anuyāja*), he holds that *prāṇa* and *ātman* are also their deities. In 13th and 14th chapters of the *Nirukta*, which are appended to it as supplementary portions, the supereminence of the *mahān ātman* is propounded and the unity of the essential reality is worked out.

In the main Yāska impresses us as a rationalist. His motto is that on the cessation of the generation of seers reason is the only guide of man.⁸²

The aforesaid position of Yāska may be responsible for the fact why of all works of the Nairukta school only his work has survived the passage of time.

Besides Yāska, many of his predecessors or contemporaries also adopted the etymological and naturalistic

80. *Ibid.*, I. 20 : याज्ञदैवते पुष्पफले । देवताध्यात्मे वा ।

81. *Ṛgveda*, I. 164. 46 :

इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमुनिमार्दुरथो दिव्यः स सुपुणो गृह्णमान् ।

एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्त्यमिं युमं मारुतिस्त्वानमाहुः ॥

Nirukta, VII. 18: इममेवाग्निं महान्तमात्मानमेकमात्मानं बहुधा मेधाविनो वदन्ति ।

82. *Nirukta*, parīṣiṣṭa : मनुष्या वा ऋषिषूक्तामस्तु देवानब्रुवन् को न ऋषिर्भविष्यतीति तेभ्य एतं तर्कमृषि प्रायच्छन्

method in varied ways. Āgrayaṇa derived *indra* from *idam* + *kr* and took it to mean one who can do everything.⁸³ Kāṭhaka broke *rudra* into *ru* + *dru* and interpreted it as one who goes roaring.⁸⁴ Śākalya analysed *vāyu* (air) into *vā* + *yah* and Sthaulāsthīvi traced it to the root *i* meaning to go.⁸⁵ Śatabalākṣa tried to yoke etymology with the descriptive sense of words, e.g., *mṛtyu* (death) comes from *mṛta* + *eyāvay* and is so called because it causes the dead to be removed.⁸⁶ While Aupamanyava was a pure etymologist, Aurnavābha had also a naturalist trend and Śākapti showed even a materialist bias. He derived *agni* (fire) from three verbs : *i* (to go) *g* from *añj* (to shine) or *dah* (to burn) + *ni* (to lead) and showed that it referred to the material fire.⁸⁷ According to him, fire is three fold : terrestrial, atmospheric and celestial *Idhma*, *Narāśaṁsa*, *Tvaṣṭṛ* and *Vanaspati* all signify fire.⁸⁸ In his view, *Viṣṇu* has a cosmic significance and his three strides encompass the earth, the intermediate space and heaven.⁸⁹

The use of etymology to bolster cosmic or naturalist interpretation continued to be adopted by Vedic commentators even after the generation of Yāska. For instance, Śābarasvāmin in his comment on *Mīmāṃsā* I. 1. 7. 31-2 rejects the view that *Babara Prāvāhaṇi* was a historical personage and holds that *Prāvāhaṇi* means that which blows and thus stands for wind so that *Babara Prāvāhaṇi* signifies

83. *Nirukta*, X. 8 : इदं करणादित्याश्रयणः ।

84. *Ibid.*, X. 5 : यदरुदत्तद्रुद्रस्य रुद्रत्वम् ।

85. *Ibid.*, VI. 23 वेति च य इति च चकार शाकल्यः *Ibid.* : X. 1 एते इति स्थौलाष्टीविः ।

86. *Ibid.*, XI. 6 : मृतं व्यावयतीति वा शतबलाक्षो मौद्गल्यः ।

87. *Ibid.*, VII. 23. अयमेवाग्निर्वैश्वानर इति शाकपूणिः ।

88. *Ibid.*, VII. 28 ; VIII. 5 ; VIII. 6 ; VIII. 17.

89. *Ibid.*, XII. 19 : त्रिषा निषत्ते पदम् । पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवीति शाकपूणिः ।

wind or the heaven.⁹⁰ As the Vedas are *nitya* (eternal), their expressions can only refer to everlasting phenomena of nature rather than fleeting events of history.

The Nairukta interpretation of the Veda did not convince everybody. The spiritualists (*ātmavid*) combatted its principle of trinity. To its trinitarian naturalism they opposed monistic spiritualism or cosmic pantheism.⁹¹ Yāska expounds their viewpoint by stating that all gods are the limbs of a single soul,⁹² they are produced from each other and are the forms of each other.⁹³ According to them, seers consider the gods distinctly in accordance with the multiplicity of forms which the Essential Soul assumes in the process of functioning.⁹⁴ The *Bṛhaddevata* states their case by remarking that some regard the sun and others Prajāpati as the source of all. He, the sun, having divided himself into three, abides in these worlds, causing all the gods in due order to rest in his rays.⁹⁵ Skandasvāmin

90. S. K. Rāmanātha Śāstri, *Brhatī of Prabhākaramisra*, p. 405.
यच्च प्रावाहणिरिति तन्न, प्रवाहणस्य पुरुषस्यासिद्धत्वात् न प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं प्रावाहणिः । प्र शब्दः प्रकर्षे सिद्धः, वहतिश्च प्रापणे, न त्वस्य समुदायः क्वचित्सिद्धः, इकारस्तु ययैवापत्ये सिद्धः तथा क्रियाया अपि कर्तरि, तस्मात् यः प्रवाहयति, स प्रवाहणिः । 'बबरः' इति शब्दानुकृतिः । तेन यो नित्योऽर्थः, तमेवैतो शब्दो बदिष्यतः वायुमाकाश वा ।

91. The germ of this view is found in the Vedic texts themselves. Cp. *Rigveda* X. 82. 3.

यो देवानां नामधा एक एव तं सम्प्रश्ने भुवना यन्त्युन्या ;

92. *Nirukta*, VII. 4 : एकस्यात्मनोऽन्ये देवाः प्रत्यगानि भवन्ति ।

93. *Ibid.*, इतरेतरजन्मानो भवन्ति, इतरेतरप्रकृतयः

94. *Ibid.*, महाभाग्याद् देवताया एक आत्मा बहुधा स्तूयते ।

for comments see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Vedic Monotheism*, p. 84.

95. *Bṛhaddevata*, I. 61-3 :

भवद्भूतस्य भव्यस्य जगमस्थावरस्य च ।

अस्यैके सूर्यमेवैकं प्रभवं प्रलयं विदुः ॥

असतश्च सतश्चैव योनिरेषा प्रजापतिः ।

यदक्षरं च वाच्यं च यथैतद्ब्रह्म शाश्वतम् ॥

कृत्वैष हि त्रिधात्मानं एषु लोकेषु तिष्ठति ।

देवान्यथायथं सर्वान् निवेद्य स्वेषु रक्षिषु ॥

says that they argue on the postulate of one soul (*ātmakatvena*) and absence of duality (*astadvitena*) and expound the fundamental unity of being.⁹⁶ This line of thought reaches its culmination in the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta. Accordingly, we find in them an attempt at identifying and translating the provisions and prescriptions of Vedic rituals into the phenomena of cosmic existence, characterised by an organic unity. For instance, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, transferring the ritual of the horse sacrifice (*aśvamedha*) to the plane of nature, observes :

"Verily, the dawn is the head of the sacrificial horse ; the sun, his eye ; the wind, his breath ; universal fire, his open mouth. The year is the body of the sacrificial horse ; the sky, his back ; the atmosphere, his belly ; the quarters, his flanks ; the intermediate quarters, his ribs ; the seasons, his limbs ; the months and half-months, his joints ; days and nights, his feet ; the stars, his bones ; the clouds, his flesh. Sand is the food in his stomach ; rivers are his entrails. His liver and lungs are the mountains ; plants and trees, his hair. The orient is his fore part ; the occident, his hind part. When he yawns, then it lightens. When he shakes himself, then it thunders. When he urinates, then it rains. Voice, indeed, is his voice."⁹⁷

96. Lakṣmana Svartpa, *Shondasvāmin and Mahesvara on the Nirukta*, VII. 2. 5, p. 35 : तत्राध्यात्मविदस्तावत्सन्मात्रनिबद्धबुद्धयः.....किं केन पश्यति किं केन शृणोतीत्यात्मैकत्वेनास्तद्वितेनान्यं न पश्यन्ति न शृण्वन्तीति ।

97. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I. 1. 1 : उषा वा अश्वस्य मेध्यस्य शिरः । सूर्यश्चक्षुर्वातः प्राणो व्यासमग्निर्वैश्वानरः संवत्सर आत्माश्वस्य मेध्यस्य । द्यौः पृष्ठमन्तरिक्षमुदरं पृथिवी पाजस्य दिशः पार्श्वेऽवान्तरदिशः पशव आतवोगानि मासाश्चार्धमासाश्च पर्वाण्यहोरात्राणि प्रतिष्ठा नक्षत्राण्यस्थीनि नभो मासानि । ऊर्ध्वं सिकताः सिन्धवो गुदा यकुच्च क्लोमानश्च पर्वता घोषधयश्च वनस्पतयश्च लोमान्युद्यन्पूर्वार्धो निम्लोच्चञ्जघनार्धो यद्विजृम्भते यद्विद्योतते यद्विधूनुते तत्स्तनयति यन्मेहति तद्वर्षति बागेवास्य वाक् ।

Śaṅkarācārya comments : अस्य त्वश्वमेधकर्मसम्बन्धिनो विज्ञानस्य प्रयोजनं येषामश्वमेधे न अधिकारस्तेषामस्मादेव विज्ञानात् फलप्राप्तिः ।

Thus the horse sacrifice, described at length in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XIII. 1-5, is the drama of cosmic existence being enacted on the stage of nature. The life of man reproduces this drama in a miniature form. Hence there is correspondence between the universe and the individual. In the words of Aśvapati Kekaya "the universal soul is, verily, that manifold one, which you reverence as the Ātman (soul)."⁹⁸

The unity of the scheme of being is brought out in a discussion on *ātman* (soul) in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. Prācīnaśāla Aupamanyava thinks that *ātman* is the heaven, Satyayajña Pauluṣi says that it is the sun, Indradyumna Bhāllaveya holds that it is the wind, Jana Śārkarākṣya opines that it is the space, Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi considers that it is water and Uddālaka Āruṇi states that it is earth. But, synthesizing all these views, Aśvapati Kekaya remarks that "the brightly shining (heaven) is indeed the head of that universal Ātman, the manifold (sun) is his eye, that which possesses various paths (wind) in his breath, the extended (space) is his body, the wealth (water) is his bladder, the support (earth) is his feet, the sacrificial area is his breast, the sacrificial grass is his hair, the Gārhapatya fire is his heart, the Anvāhārya-pacana fire is his mind and the Āhavanīya fire is his mouth."⁹⁹ Here the entire nature with all its elements is identified with the universal soul.

The aforesaid discussion smacks of some sort of materialist approach. Nature being material in content, the universal soul, which is identical with it, has also a material connotation. This entails a hylozoistic and even a materialist view of being. In reply to a question, posed by Kabandha Ātharvaṇa and reiterated by Uddālaka Āruṇi, as to what is that thread by which this world and the other world and all

98. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, V. 13. 1: एष वै विश्वरूप आत्मा वैश्वानरः यं त्वमात्मानमुपास्ते ।

99. *Ibid.*, V. 18. 2: सूर्ध्वं मुतेजाः, चक्षुर्विश्वरूपं, प्राणः पृथग्ब्रह्मा, संवेहो बहुलो, वस्तिरेव रयिः, पृथिव्येव पादौ । उर एव वेदिर्लोमानि बहिः हृदयं गार्हपत्यो मनोज्वाहायपचन आस्यमाहवनीयः ।

beings are strung together, Yājñavalkya says that it is air (*vāyu*).¹⁰⁰ In reply to another question as to who is the puller of that thread, he states that he is that who dwells in the air, within the air, and whose body the air is.¹⁰¹ In answer to a question of Gārgī Vācaknavī, he observes that the being is woven like warp and woof in the space (*ākāśa*).¹⁰² Again, talking to Vidagdha Śākalya, he says that there is only one god and he is breath (*prāṇa*) or the principle of life pervading the scheme of existence.¹⁰³ This one becomes one and a half, that is, the wind (*pavana*) that blows or purifies (*pavate*), then two, that is, matter and breath, then three, that is, the three worlds, then six, that is, fire (*agni*), earth (*prthivī*), air (*vāyu*), atmosphere (*antarikṣa*), sun (*aditya*) and heaven (*dyu*), then thirty-one, that is, the eight Vasus—fire (*agni*), earth (*prthivī*), air (*vāyu*), atmosphere (*antarikṣa*), sun (*aditya*), heaven (*dyu*), moon (*candramas*), stars (*nakṣatra*)—the eleven Rudras—the five senses of perception (*jñānendriya*) and the five senses of action (*karmendriya*) and the Ātman—the twelve Ādityas or the twelve months of the year constituting the structure of time, Indra or the thunderbolt (nature in dynamic agitation) and Prajāpati or the animals (the animal kingdom embodying the architectonics of existence), then three and three hundred and three and three thousand or 3306, that is, the various powers (*mahiman*) of the thirty three gods. Continuing the dialogue, he adds that the great god, whose dwelling is the earth, whose world is fire, whose mind is

100. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III. 7. 2 : स होवाच वायुर्वै गौतम तत् सूत्रं, वायुना वै गौतम सूत्रेणायं च लोकः परश्च लोकः सर्वाणि च भूतानि संवृण्वानि भवन्ति ।

101. *Ibid.*, III. 7. 7 : यो वायौ तिष्ठन् वायोरन्तरो यं वायुर्न वेद यस्य वायुः सरीरं यो वायुमन्तरो यमयत्येष त आत्मान्तर्याम्यमुतः ।

102. *Ibid.*, III. 8. 4 : स होवाच यद्वर्ध्वं गां दिवो यदवाक् पृथिव्या यदन्तरा द्वावापृथिवीमे यद् भूतं च भवच्च भविष्यच्चेत्यावक्षत आकाशे तदोतं च प्रोतं चेति ।

103. *Ibid.*, III. 9. 9 : कतम एको देव इति प्राण इति स ब्रह्म तदित्याचक्षते । Cp. the conception of Indra as *Prāṇa* in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI. 1. 1. 1 ; स योज्यं मध्ये प्राण एष एवेन्द्रः ।

light and who is the principle of every self, is this corporeal person or bodily living being (*śārīraḥ puruṣaḥ*).¹⁰⁴ These remarks of this great teacher clearly show that in his view the unitary character of existence is material in composition. Going a step further, Uddālaka Āruṇi says that even thought is made of the smallest particles of matter.¹⁰⁵

Yājñavalkya also held that in a sense the Ātman, being a principle within forms or a force within things, is unseizable, indestructible, unattached and unbound. It is neither this nor that. It cannot be identified with specific objects.¹⁰⁶ This trend of thought gave rise to the idealistic trend of thought which culminated in the Vedānta and other schools.

A section of the Ātmavids consisted of the Parivrājakas, as pointed out by Skandasvāmin and Durga.¹⁰⁷ Yāska quotes their opinion only once in regard to *Rgveda* I. 164. 32. They held that people, having many children, fall into calamity.¹⁰⁸ But the Nairuktas, differing from them, said that *nīrti* signifies the earth and the said mantra means that, multiplying greatly, he reaches the earth through the rain.

Some thinkers, like Durga, tried to synthesize the Ādhyātmika monotheism Nairukta tritheism and Yajñika polytheism. Just as, considered as individuals, men are many, but, viewed as the state, they are one, likewise, from the worldly point of view, gods are many, but,

104. *Ibid.*, III. 9 10: याज्ञवल्क्यस्य वेद वा अहं तं पुरुष २ सर्वस्यात्मनः परायणं यमात्थ य एवायं ३ शरीर. पुरुषः स एष ।

105. Walter Ruben, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie* (Berlin 1954), pp. 83-89.

106. S. N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1957), Vol. I, pp. 44-5, citing *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV. 5. 15.

107. Skandasvāmin on *Nirukta* II. 8 (Lakṣmaṇa Svarūpa, *op. cit.*, p. 61-2) एष परिव्राजकानामात्मविदां दर्शने च अस्या ऋचोऽर्थः । Durga (Ānandaśrama edition Vol. I, p. 155) on the same passage परिव्राजकानामात्मविदां दर्शने अस्या ऋचोऽर्थः ।

108. *Nirukta*, II. 8: बहुव्रजा कुच्छमापद्यत इति परिव्राजकाः ।

from the spiritual angle of vision, they are one.¹⁰⁹ The Ātmaśāstra encompasses trinity and multiplicity in unity, the Nairuktas encompass unity and multiplicity in trinity, and the Yājñikas encompass trinity and unity in multiplicity.¹¹⁰ Each one of these philosophies looks upon unity, trinity and multiplicity as parts of each other being extensions and introversions of the basic reality of existence. Hence all the said interpretations mutually complement and supplement themselves.

It is clear from the above discussion of the various aspects of Vedic exegesis that the maxim 'truth is one, sages call it differently' adequately applies to it. The Vedas are as vast and varied as the universe itself. They transcend all dogmas and elude all fanaticism. They admit of no monolithic approach and are only amenable to a multilateral interpretation. To say that any one standpoint to understand them is valid to the exclusion of others is to miss their correct import and even to mistake their vital meaning. However, the patent fact is that the apparatus of concepts, symbols and imageries, through which the seers conveyed their experience, realisation and revelation, forms part of a framework of cultural norms and propositions having some fixed place in the span of time and expanse of space.

Admittedly, the Vedas are the earliest literary compositions of the Saptasindhu region and the Indus Valley cities constitute the earliest developed civilization of this region. It is, therefore, worthwhile to enquire if there is some correlation between the two or whether the ideas of the one can be traced into the other. An approach like that made by Miss H. L. Lorimer in her *Homer and*

109. Durga on Nirukta VII. 5 (Ānandaśrama edition), Vol. II, p 644 : यथा राष्ट्रमित्यभेदो नरा इति भेदः । तथात्मैत्यभेदो, लोकाश्च लोकिनश्चेति भेदः ।

110. *Ibid* : तत्रैव सत्यात्मविद आत्मनिव्रित्तवनानात्वे गुणीकृत्य तदङ्गप्रत्यङ्गभावेन कल्पयित्वैकमान्मानं पश्यन्ति । तथा नानात्वैकत्वे नैकता इति त्रित्वे । तथा त्रित्वैकत्वे याज्ञिका नानात्वे । एवमेवामविरोधः ।

the Monuments is not out of place in understanding the repertoire of linguistic symbols in which the profound ideas of the Vedas are couched. An attempt along this line is made in the present book.

The Indus Valley Civilization has yielded a variety of monumental remains, artifacts and figures. Most of the seals, pertaining to it, have figures on them, some have also some writing in a script which has not as yet been satisfactorily deciphered. Several attempts have been made to read this script, but so far all of them are tentative and conjectural. Unless and until a definite clue is found in the form of some reliable key or bilingual writing, which may come very shortly or may remain hidden for all time to come, all fresh endeavours to unlock it must be mere additions to the fund of conjectures in regard to it. Nevertheless the attempts to correlate the symbols and artifacts of this earliest civilization of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent with the data of the earliest literary texts, produced in this region, can proceed with considerable profit and even yield adequate rewards. The only desiderata are an open mind and a critical spirit.

The interpreters of the Indus Valley Civilization have not deferred their enquiries about its place in the historical evolution of the people of this sub-continent. Their system has been to specify the features of the figures, found from the sites of this civilization, and compare and correlate them with analogous data available from other historical sources. For instance, Marshall has equated the three-headed figure on an Indus seal (plate IV) with that of Śiva, as we know it from later literature and art. He has been struck by certain similarities between the figure of this god and the portrait of Śiva familiar to us. Along this line it is permissible to institute a comparison between this figure and the concept of Viśvarūpa Tvāṣṭra given in the *Ṛgveda*. Then it should be considered whether this figure corresponds more to Śiva than to Viśvarūpa Tvāṣṭra. If so, we should accept the view that it stands for Śiva and not for Viśvarūpa Tvāṣṭra. But, if it has greater resemblance with Viśvarūpa Tvāṣṭra than Śiva, then we should be prepared to say that it represents him rather than the latter. And, if most of the figures on the Indus seals can be reconciled to the concepts and

ideas of the *Rgveda*, we should not fight shy of the proposition that both of them derived their habitus of symbols and imagery from one and the same cultural repertoire. In the present work this sort of approach has been undertaken in all humility.

The approach to the historical aspect of the Vedas is often clouded by some preconceptions. It is presumed that the Aryans, who composed the Vedas, came into the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent from outside sometime in the third or the second millennium B C. At that time, the Indus Valley Civilization was flourishing in this region, as the Carbon-14 determinations and correlations with parallel strata from Mesopotamia indicate. Hence the Aryans must be held responsible for the destruction of that civilization. On this showing, all that we find in the Vedas must be different from everything pertaining to that civilization and must also be posterior to it in time. These presumptions, most of which are unsound, as will be shown in this book, have by and large precluded the consideration of the common points in the Vedas and the Indus Civilization. But, if we start with a clean and open mind, free from the fog of the said presumptions, in a receptive and inquisitive spirit, we shall notice that most of the ideas of the Vedas are found in the Indus Civilization so that they complement each other to a considerable extent and are products of the same cultural configuration.

Scholars and historians often say that the Aryans came to the Land of the Seven Rivers in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent from outside, but from where nobody states clearly and exactly. Instead of letting us know definitely and precisely where the so-called original home of the Aryans lay, they drag us into a maze of conjectures clouded by the haze of presumptions. The whole subject of the Aryan problem is a farrago of linguistic speculations or archaeological imaginations complicated by racial prejudices and chauvinistic xenophobia. It is high time we extricate ourselves from this chaos of bias and belief and purge our minds of the confusion of complexes and superstitions. The sound method of understanding things is to allow ourselves to be guided by them rather than impose our own suppositions on them. The

conclusions must flow from the facts, as they are, the facts should not follow the conclusions, as we conceive. A thing is true until the contrary is proved just as a person is good unless otherwise established. The Vedas are admittedly the earliest literary productions of the people called the Aryans. They unmistakably show that those people were living from the very beginning in the land called Saptasindhu and do not give the slightest hint of their coming to it from outside. Hence the presumption, if any, has to be that the Aryans were the original inhabitants of the Land of Seven Rivers and the burden of proving that it was not their original home and they came there from outside lies on those who challenge this evidence and assert to the contrary. So far this *onus probandi* has not been satisfactorily discharged by those critics so that we have no warrant for holding that the so-called Aryans were not the original inhabitants of the Land of the Seven Rivers in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

If the so-called Aryans were living in the Land of the Seven Rivers from the very beginning, the Indus Valley Civilization, which developed there, must reflect some phase of their growth and development. Curiously, a large number of ideas and concepts seem to be common to this civilization and the Vedas showing that they stemmed from the same people. Therefore, an enquiry into their common points, like the one undertaken in this book, is expected to be fruitful both from the standpoint of Vedic interpretation and the identification of the Indus Valley Civilization.

As shown above, the existing linguistic texture and symbol complex of the Vedas have a historical aspect and a dynamic perspective. Whereas some of the hymns, like the Nāsadiya and the Asyavāmiya are purely of a cosmological and metaphysical nature, others, like the Sudās sūktas, are narratives of historical events or praises of particular personages. While it is unpalatable to explain the former historically, it would be equally far-fetched to interpret the latter from the naturalist or the spiritualist point of view. These Vedic hymns seem to be spread over a certain period of time and their present arrangement implies a specific epoch,

which can be determined by correlating their data with those gleaned from the Indus Valley Civilization. A tentative attempt of this sort is made in the following pages.

An archaeological approach to literature and literary approach to archaeology is likely to fill many blanks in Indian cultural history. The understanding of the Vedas in terms of the Indus Valley Civilization, unravelled by archaeology, and the explanation of the artifacts, symbols and figures of the latter from the standpoint of the ideas, adumbrated in the Vedic texts, must help in the clarification of the important aspects of both. While making this historico-archaeological approach to the Vedas and attempting a Vedic interpretation of some aspects of the Indus Valley Civilization, I am emboldened by the fact that from the outset Vedic studies have been characterised by the multiplicity of outlooks, which steer clear of dogmas and prejudices and admit the possibility of fresh standpoints and interpretations. In this study I have been immensely inspired by the Ācāryas, both ancient and modern, who have offered a stubborn resistance against the forces of rigidity and intransigence in the field of Vedic studies.

CHAPTER I

ORIGIN AND EXTENT OF THE INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION

1 The vastness and uniqueness of the Indus Valley Civilization

Recent archaeological discoveries have immensely enlarged our vision of the Indus Valley Civilization. We can now see that this civilization intruded into the Gangetic Valley in the east, where it is attested at Bahadarabad in the Saharanpur district¹ Alamgirpur in the Meerut district,² Bhatpura and Manpur in the Bulandshahr district and Ghazipur and Banaras districts³ coursed along the Ghaggar, Wahindat through Bikaner and Bahawalpur in the south-east⁴ where the site of Kalibangan evidences its prevalence expanded over Saurashtra and Gujarat upto Surat in the south where the remains of Lothal⁵ on the Sabarmati Mehgarh and Telod on the estuary of the Narmada Rojdi and Adkat on the Bhadar river⁷ Rangpur⁸ and Somnath Patan⁹ on the sea-shore and Bhagatruv on the Kim prove its existence extended along the Makran coast in Buluchistan in the west where the finds of Bala Kot¹⁰ near Sonmiani Sotka Koh¹¹ near Pasni

1 Y D Sharma Copper Hoards and Ochre colour Ware in the Ganga Basin *International Conference on Asian Archaeology Summaries of Papers* pp 54 55

2 *Indian Archaeology A Review* (1958 59) pp 50 52

3 *The Vedic Age* ed R C Majumdar and A D Pisalliar p 196

4 *Indian Archaeology A Review* (1960 61) pp 30 31 *Archaeological Remains Monuments and Museums* (New Delhi 1964) Part I pp 4 5

5 *Illustrated London News* March 24 1962 p 454

6 *Ibid* February 25 1961 p 302

7 *Indian Archaeology A Review* (1957 58) p 18

8 S R Rao Excavations at Rangpur *Ancient India* 1^o 19 (1962 63) 5 207

9 *Indian Archaeology A Review* (1956 57) pp 16 17

10 Robert L Raikes The End of the Ancient Cities of the Indus *American Anthropologist* 66 (April 1963) 290

11 George F Dales Harappan Outposts on the Makran Coast *Antiquity* 36 (1962) 86 92
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and Sutkagen Dor¹² on the Arabian Sea show its incidence and link it to the culture of Ras-al-Qala'a¹³ and other sites in the Bahrein Island on the Persian Gulf, and extended into Afghanistan in the north, where the materials, unearthed at Nad-i-Ali¹⁴ and Mundigak,¹⁵ join it with an Iranian complex and carry it upto Namazga Tepe and Kara Tepe in Turkmenistan.¹⁶ Thus, this civilization, covering an immense area and showing numerous shades and phases of growth, comes out to be the most extensive cultural complex of ancient times. In most of its traits it reveals a uniqueness and individuality, which baffles all attempts at deriving it from other known civilizations and establishes its independent and indigenous development from its own soil. The use of burnt brick for building residential houses on an unostentatious and monotonous but utilitarian and regulated pattern, the passion for cleanliness and ablution, almost bordering on obsession, manifest in private wells, baths, privies, pipes, soak-pits, sullage-jars, covered drains with regular manholes and elaborate arrangements of public bath, the absence of any imposing structure of the likeness of a temple or a ziggurat or a royal tomb or memorial as the dominant centre of civic or social life, the sanctity of bull and pipal as hall-marks of religious belief and artistic orientation and the peculiar figures on seals and the script, the characteristic assemblage of hatched patterns, intersecting circles, scale designs, pipal and peacock features on ceramic decoration, the curved type of knife blade of bronze and many other features clearly distinguish this civilization from its Sumerian

12. Aurel Stein, "An Archaeological Tour of Gedrosia" *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, (1931) p. 60.

13. T. G. Bibby, 'Bronze Age Cultures of the Persian Gulf in the Light of Recent Excavations', *International Conference on Asian Archaeology, Summaries of Papers*, pp. 29-30.

14. René Ghirshman, "Recherches préhistoriques dans la partie Afghane du Seistan", Hackin, Carl et Meunier, *Diverses Recherches Archeologiques en Afghanistan*, (Paris, 1959)

15. Jean Marie Casal, *Feuilles de Mundigak*, (*Mémoires de la Délégation française en Afghanistan*, Vol. XVII, Paris, 1961.

16. Jean Marie Casal, "Les débuts de la civilisation de l'Indus a la lumière de fouilles récentes", *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, Comptes Rendus*, 1960, pp. 212-14.

or Egyptian counterparts and prove its own individual and integrated evolution. Before studying its cultural configuration, it is necessary to know something about its origin, a subject shrouded in mystery and, therefore, the field of controversies.

2. Beginnings of the urban complex of the Indus Valley

Though we could not know anything about the pre-urban strata at Mohenjodaro owing to the emergence of sub-soil water, yet we were fortunate to recover from the pre-defence deposits at Harappa a fine dark, purple-red ware with dull matt surface decorated with black bands round the rim.¹⁷ A similar pottery, painted with loops and wavy lines, has been found in the fourth layer at Kot Diji, 15 miles south of Khairabad and 25 miles east of Mohenjodaro, across the Indus, that underlies the three layers representing the Indus Valley Civilization.¹⁸ A pottery of the same type has also now been discovered at Kalibangan in Rājasthāna.¹⁹ Earlier some such pottery was picked at Amri and Lohri in Sind.²⁰ This red pottery is analogous to that found in North Baluchistan, particularly in the valley of the Zhob river and, accordingly, called Zhob culture ware by Piggott.²¹ Of the sites, where this culture is attested, only Rana Ghunḍai has been subjected to systematic study and has revealed four phases, the earliest being reminiscent of the wandering people and the third and second representing the settled people using the wheel-turned pottery with red slip and geometric and animal patterns in black, including caprids in various stages from complete animals to mere fringes of

17. Mortimer Wheeler, *Ancient India*, No. 3 (1947), 91, Pl. XL-XLII.

18. Mortimer Wheeler in *The Dawn of Civilization*, ed., Stuart Piggott, p. 248.

19. Y. D. Sharma, "Protohistoric Remains," *Archaeological Remains, Monuments and Museums*, (Delhi, 1964) part I pp. 4-5.

20. N. G. Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 48, p. 24.

21. Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, Ch. IV; *Ancient India*, No. 1 (1946) 8 ff.

detached horns.²² But this culture and the pottery, associated with it, also spread over the south upto Quetta and Togau and about twenty other sites, mixing with the Quetta culture, characterised by buff pottery, which was prevalent there.²³

3. Zones of the 'red ware culture' and the 'buff ware culture'

At Amri, besides the aforesaid red ware, we get another distinctive pottery, having a buff, cream or pink background underneath the remains of the Indus Civilization. On this pottery, against a buff background with a white slip, we find bands of reddish brown round the neck and geometric designs in black or chocolate occasionally augmented by red, yellow, blue or green. The designs consist of indented, stepped and oval motifs and occasionally stylized animals like caprids. Such ware is found in southern Baluchistan at about twenty sites from Quetta to Nal near Kalat including Kili Gul Mohammad and Damb Saadat. Piggott called it Quetta culture ware.²⁴ Analogous to this group is the ware of Mundigak in South Afghanistan as well as that found in the Oxus Valley in Turkmenistan.²⁵

4. Iranian affiliation of the zones of 'red ware culture' and 'buff ware culture'

The aforesaid two zones of culture, characterised by red and buff or yellow wares, have their counterparts in the red and yellow ware areas of Iran, the first extending through central and northern Iran along the fringes of the Caspian Sea and the second covering southern Iran from Mesopotamia to the regions bordering on the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea, both sometimes meeting at places like Tepe Sialk, 150 miles south of Tehran, as shown by McCown.²⁶

22. E. J. Ross, 'A Chalcolithic Site in Northern Baluchistan', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago) 5 (1946) 284 ff.

23. R. Gardi in *Arts and Letters*, 24 (1950) 54.

24. S. Piggott, *Op. cit.*

25. J. M. Casal, "Les débuts de la civilisation de l'Indus à la lumière de fouilles récentes", *Op. cit.*

26. D. E. McCown, *The Comparative Stratigraphy of Early Iran* (Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1942); 'The Material Culture of Early Iran', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 1(1942), No. 4.

Though there is considerable crosscutting and even overlapping in the distribution of these pottery zones, it is patent that they bring out a vast Indo-Iranian culture-complex encompassing the Panjab, Sind, Baluchistan, Afghanistan, Iran and the Oxus Valley regions shading off in the eastern and northern steppes. Over this immense area we find an almost identical racial configuration and cultural orientation from the very dawn of humanity. In it the growth of styles and standards of life followed uniform patterns and the shaping of the trends of socio-economic change and formation exhibited the same courses.

5. The Indo-Iranian borderlands

The routes, passing by the Michni pass along Charsadda, Hotimardan, Shahbazgarhi and Swabi, and through the Khyber Pass along Landikotal, Janrud, Peshawar and Naoshera, connected the Indus Valley with Afghanistan, whence the passes of the Hindu Kush led to the Oxus Valley and Iranian borderland. South of the Khyber Pass, routes run through the Peiwar Pass and the Kurram Valley with a place near Mianwali on the Indus as their terminus. Further south, the tracks of the Tochi and the Gomal connect the Ghazni-Kandahar region with the Indus near Dera Ismail Khan. Still further south, another route descends from Herat and Kandahar through the Bolan Pass. The Khyber and the Bolan together with the three minor passes of the Kurram, the Tochi and Gomal comprise the well-known Five Fingers—natural routes of communication connecting Iran and Central Asia with India. Besides this northern group of routes, there is a southern group also, which spreads deltawise towards the Indus plain.²⁷ The Zhob Valley carries a route from the direction of Quetta. South-eastwards from Quetta, a route, now almost followed by the railway, enters the plain via Sibi. Westwards from Quetta, a camel route leads towards Kirman and southern and western Iran. At the southern end of this series of routes, Las Bela acts as a true

27. Aurel Stein, "The Indo-Iranian Borderlands", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Britain and Ireland*, 44 (1934) 180 ff.

gateway.²⁸ Along all these routes there has been a ceaseless traffic of people from ages immemorial bringing Iran and India into a vital fellowship of peoples and making them parts of a common cultural realm. The fundamental community of red and yellow pottery zones in Iran and the borderlands of India, studied above, points to this basic process of historical evolution in these two countries.

6. Pre-Harappan communities of Rājasthāna

Recent excavations at Kalibangan, Kot Diji and several sites in Baluchistan have thrown new light on the origins of the Indus Valley Civilization. At Kalibangan, we find a village culture characterised by houses of mud-bricks in pre-Harappan levels. The people, living there, wore terracotta bangles, used chert blades and made terracotta cakes, perhaps, for flooring the rooms, and a thin, red and dull-slipped pottery, painted in black and, sometimes, with white, with geometric designs.²⁹ In the valley of the Drśadvati (Chautang) also we find similar pottery of dull slip and painted bands over the neck at Nauhar and Sothi.³⁰ In Rājasthāna, to the south-east of the Aravalis, watered by the Banas Cambal river system, we get the protohistoric culture, called Ahar, after the name of the site near Udaipur, where its remains are attested.³¹ The pottery from Ahar, Gilund, Nagda, Bahal, Prakash etc. is analogous to that of Iran. For instance, the goblet on a hollow tall stand and a bottle-like jar is found at Shah Tepe. Likewise, in the Narmada Valley at Navdatoli and Maheshwar, the concave-sided carinated bowls in white slip, the channel-spouted and the stemmed bowl recall those from Sialk.³²

28. T. H. Holdich, *The Gates of India* (London, 1910), p. 139.

29. *Indian Archaeology: A Review* (1960-61) pp. 30-31.

30. Mortimer Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan*, p. 124.

31. *Indian Archaeology: A Review*, (1954-55), pp. 14-15.

32. H. D. Sankalia, B. Subbarao and S. B. Deo, *Excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli* (Poona and Baroda, 1958).

7. Transition from rural stage to urban development at Kot Diji

At Amri³³, Ghazi Shah and Kot Diji traces of pre-Harappan settlements have been discovered. At Kot Diji, 15 miles south of Khairpur and north of the Diji fort, we find a transition from the rural to an urban culture. In the fourth layer, beneath the upper three Harappan layers, we find a ramparted village or a small town with a fortified citadel. The defensive wall was raised on bed-rock and built below with undressed stone blocks and above with mud bricks. Internally it slanted at an angle of 8.50 degrees and was reinforced in the north east corner with 2.50 foot wide stone revetment. Externally it was strengthened with bastions at regular intervals. One such bastion 32'x20' with complex arrangement has been revealed in the north-eastern corner. The wall served as the back part of most of the houses, which shows that the habitation area was very near to it. The inhabitants of this locality lived in houses of sun-dried bricks, with paved floors, built on stone foundations, used fine stone implements and made well-finished pottery of red to pinkish colour decorated in red, brown or sepia with wide bands on the neck and painted in black with 'fish-scale' pattern and loops and wavy lines and in black and white with a complex design showing a horned deity. "Their womenfolk bedecked themselves with beads and bangles of shell and terracotta and their children possessed toys, like stone and baked clay balls and marbles, miniature clay pots and cowrie shells."³⁴ The development of social life is manifest from large size community ovens in some houses, which must have served as public places or group centres. That the culture of this settlement had affinities with Iran is clear from a baked clay figurine of a bull with well-developed body, stout muzzle and short pointed horns, which resembles the figure of this animal depicted on scarlet pottery from Susa in south-western Iran dated 2800-2700 B. C.³⁵

33. N. G. Majumdar, "Explorations in Sind", *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 48 (1934).

34. F. A. Khan, *Preliminary Report on Kot Diji Excavations*, (1957-58), p. 16.

35. *Loc. cit.*

8. Evolution of village life in Baluchistan

In Baluchistan we get a large number of sites in the Quetta Valley, Loralai, Zhob, Kalat and Las Bela, where "a continuing sequence, based on archaeological excavations, revealed traces of phases of development beginning with villages dependent on limited agriculture and sheep and goat husbandry and expanding to an elaborate ceremonial complex, complete with monumental buildings, 'fertility figures', and the probable use of ablution and sacrifice as a part of ritual."³⁶ At Damb Sadaat, in the Quetta Valley, there is a large platform on the top of the mound, which, perhaps, contained buildings. Stone drains have been located in the midst of the mud-brick structure, which seems to have been enclosed by a massive outer wall. Figurines of mother goddess and bulls and a complete human skull in a small stone cache in one corner of the platform give evidence of a cult of human sacrifice before a fertility deity.³⁷ Similar religious complex has been found at Loralai, the Fort Sandeman area and in southern Afghanistan.³⁸

In the Las Bela district along the middle Porali Valley, north of the Bela town, Fairervis has discovered an enormous complex of ruins at what is called Edith Shahr. There a large number of contiguous sites reveal two complexes A and B. The earlier complex A, of Kulli affiliation, is characterised by large structures, consisting of ascending stages like ziggurats and crowned at the top with platforms supporting brick buildings. Surrounding these structures are constructions with intervening lanes or street having stone-paved floors and drains or cisterns located in these floors.

36 Walter A. Fairervis, "The Harappan Civilization-New Evidence and More Theory", *American Museum Novitates* No. 2055, November 17, 1961, p. 7.

37. Walter A. Fairervis, "Excavations in the Quetta Valley, West Pakistan", *Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 45, Part 2, pp. 214-16.

38 Walter A. Fairervis, "Archaeological Surveys in the Zhob and Loralai Districts, West Pakistan", *Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 47, part 2, pp. 308, 330, "Preliminary Report on the Prehistoric Archaeology of the Afghan Baluch Areas, *American Museum Novitates*, No. 1587 (1952) p. 14.

Beyond these structures, groups of rectangular buldings, some over 70 feet long and compartmented, suggest heirarchical living quarters or tombs. Fairservis ascribes a religious character to this whole complex and associates it with the 'Zhob cult', consisting of large structures in prominent places, ritual bathing and fertility symbols in women and cattle. In his view, the growth of the religious system filliped up the urbanization of a rural area, a process, which, as he says, occurred in the Indus Valley as well.

9. Cultural sequences at Mundigak in South Afghanistan

In South Afghanistan the site of Mundigak affords us a glimpse into the evolution of the Indus Valley Culture. Here the lowest levels reveal a semi-wandering culture characterised by the use of copper and wheel-made pottery. Some shreds, found there, are analogous to those from Sialk III in Iran and seem to go back to the end of the epoch of Uruk. This stage results in a more advanced phase, when houses, made of mud bricks instead of clay, and a bichrome pottery, decorated with black or brown and red and sepia lines, forming geometrical motifs, like triangles, lozenges and quadrilaterals, begin to be used. This phase corresponds to the Jemdet Nasr period in Mesopotamia. But to this style is added the new feature of polychrome decoration characteristic of Susa I and attested at Tell-i-Bakun A, near Persepolis. As a result, designs in yellow, ochre, red and white are added to black painting on the creamy surface of pots. In particular, the representation of an eagle bending over a caprid recalls the motif found as Susa II. In the next stage, we find a city surrounded by a wall, marked by buttresses and bastions and equipped with a palace, which is a mud-structure with a façade of half columns and stepped merlons, as at Jamdat Nasr in Mesopotamia, and a temple in an enciente of triangular cusps, besides a number of other houses. The ceramic of this period shows a combination of Iranian and Indian motifs. On it the designs of caprids and birds with elongated bodies, hachures and eyes, shown by circles, have their origin in the art of Susa II, whereas the representation of pipal leaves, grouped in triads, has clear

affinity to the style of the Indus Valley. On some shreds a red filling, accompanying a black decoration on a creamy background, recalls the technique of Diyala. After the destruction of this first city by fire, as at Hissar II B, a second and then a third rose in its place. This change resulted in the vogue of brilliant red pottery in place of the creamy one and the substitution of copper seals for those of stone, which suggest comparison with those from Hissar. A very significant find from that site is a head in white limestone showing a coiffure of bands with the two ends falling on the shoulders as on the figure of the so-called yogin or sacrificer from Mohenjodaro.³⁹

10. Cultural trends in Turkmenistan

In Turkmenistan Russian archaeologists have excavated the sites of Namazga Tepe and Kara Tepe and in Ferghana they have worked on Tchoust and Ashkal Tepe and many other sites belonging to the aforesaid culture complex. At these sites, we find a development paralleling that at Moundigak. In the fourth level at Namazga Tepe, which roughly corresponds to Anau III, all the evidence points to Iranian influence being particularly strong. The painted pottery shows affinities with that from Tell-i Bakun, Susa and Sialk III in Iran and resembles the Quetta ware of Baluchistan. The residents of these localities were villagers and copper workers.⁴⁰

11. Cultural history of Early Iran

In Iran, we get traces of prehistoric man during the climatic change from the pluvial to the dry period. This man lived in holes dug into wooded mountain sides or in rock shelters or caves. Ghirshman discovered the remains of this period in a cave at Tang-i-Pabda in the Bakhtiari mountains, north-east of Shuster. They show that man knew the use of stone-hammer, hand-axe and the axe tied to

39. J. M. Casal, 'Fouilles de Moundigak', *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, (Paris) 17 (1961)

40. J. Hawkes and L. Wooley, *Prehistory and the Beginnings of Civilization, History of Mankind*, Vol. I, p. 827.

a cleft stick, bone awls and a deep black poorly baked pottery. With the drying up of valleys of rivers and the shrinking of the great central lake, man began to settle in the plains. The oldest human settlement in the plain is at Sialk I, near Kashan, south of Tehran. Here, sometime in the fifth millennium B. C., man began to live in huts made of the branches of trees and then in houses built with *pisé*. Besides hunting, he began to practise agriculture and stock-breeding also and made a red pottery with black patches, which were caused by accidents of firing in a primitive oven. Soon the potter's art developed and pots were covered with a white slip and painted with horizontal and vertical, lines so as to present the appearance of basket work. Tools like knife-blades, sickle-blades, axes and scrapers, were all of stone. Carving in bone and working of shell also reached a good standard.

After the first layer of Sialk, called period I, we move into the next period known as period II. It roughly corresponds to the fourth millennium B. C. It registered a great advance in all walks of life. Houses became larger and were provided with doors. They were made of mud-bricks rather than *pisé*. Their walls were coated with a red paint made of iron oxide and fruit juice. Pots were turned on wheel. On them, against a dark red ground, rows of animals like birds, boars and leaping ibex were painted in black. These figures gradually lost their realism and tended towards stylization leading to symbolic decoration. With stone, copper also was hammered into awls and pins. The domestication of the horse and the dog and the cultivation of wheat and barley emerged as the principal occupations. Thus village life grew very fast.

The third stage of development is attested in period III at Sialk, having a large number of superimposed levels. Flat rectangular bricks, made in moulds, replaced the oval-shaped hand-made bricks, resulting in significant improvement in architectural technique. Houses were arranged in quarters divided by narrow winding alleys. Their external walls were provided with buttresses and recesses. Doors and windows opened on the streets. Dry stone foundations and use of potshreds in building protected

the walls from damp. The invention of the wheel, kiln and grate enabled the potters to produce large goblets, elegant chalices, high-footed 'champagne cups' and storage jars. With the regulation of heat, the colour of the pots could be made to vary from biscuit to grey, rose and red. On them figures of animals, serpent, panther, mouflon, ibex and stork were skilfully painted in a realistic style, which soon gave way to conventional treatment and ultimately resulted in symbolic geometric forms. Again, a wave of naturalism came investing the figures with life and movement. The scenes of hunting were particularly full of vigour and dynamism. The bowls and glasses from Susa, some as thin as the shell of an egg, are unique from the standpoint of art. Besides pottery, the potters were experts in making toys and images of gods. Figures of mother-goddess and of animals, offered before her, are frequent. Smelting and casting of copper came into vogue resulting in the manufacture of daggers and knives and toilet articles like mirrors and pins. Rock crystal, lapis lazuli and jade supplemented shell, carnelian and turquoise for the manufacture of jewellery. Private property grew and trade developed bringing seals into use to mark ownership of goods. This advanced village culture is found on the fringes of the central desert at Sialk, Qumm, Savah, Rayy and Damghan. Soon it spread over the plateau and reached Seistan and Baluchistan also.

The expansion of domestic economy, outlined above, marked the transition from rural to urban life. Advanced villages began to take the form of towns. But the physical aspect of the plateau retarded this development; only in south-western Iran, called Susiana, urban life appeared and led to the growth of the state of Elam. At Susa, a monochrome red ware with handle and tubular spout came into vogue. It resembles the ceramic found in the fourth layer at Uruk in Mesopotamia. At other sites, black or grey pottery replaced the painted ware. It appears that some new people, probably coming from Russian Turkestan, began to settle in the north-eastern parts of the plateau and the people of Susa and Elam also advanced towards those regions, probably to withstand the movements of the newcomers, and started a new type of life at Sialk. Under

the influence of South Iranians, the people of the central plateau began to live in better houses with kitchens provided with ovens of two compartments and water stools in front of the main entrances and practised trade on a large scale with the facility of writing and use of cylinder seals.

About the same time or somewhat earlier, the Iranians, particularly of the southern plain, found their way in the lower valley of the Tigris-Euphrates and filled up the growth of an urban civilization attested in the lower levels of Ur and Al-Ubaid, as has been aptly suggested by Mortimer Wheeler.⁴¹

The third millennium B.C. is characterized by the struggle of the kingdom of Sumer and the Elamites, Kassites, Lullubi and Gutí, living in its east near the foothills of Zagros, in course of which these people put on the mantle of Sumerian culture. While this process of cultural growth and change was going on in south-western Iran, the people of the central plateau continued to move in the old grooves. Life at Sialk seems to have come to a stand-still; the potters at Giyan continued to make the painted pottery after style II of Susa; at Hissar the grey-black monochrome pottery displaced the painted one and the use of bronze made some advance. The second millennium B. C. is marked by migrations and movements of the people of the steppes, which led to the rise of the Kassites and the Mitannis and other tribes, who set up a new settlement at Sialk, characterized by a rampart with towers and a graveyard situated at a distance from the residential quarters.⁴²

41. R. E. M. Wheeler, "India and Iran in pre-Islamic Times", *Ancient India*, No. 4 (1947-48) 89.

42. The account of Iranian archaeological data given in this study is based on E. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran* (Oxford University Press 1935); *Iran in the Ancient East* (Oxford University Press, 1941), V. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952) and R. Ghirshman, *Iran* (Pelican 1954).

12. Cultural growth between the Caucasus and the Euphrates

Recently a new chalcolithic culture of the third millennium B.C. has been unearthed between the Caucasus Range in the north, Lake Van and the upper reaches of the Euphrates in the south, eastern Anatolia in the west and the upper Araxes in the east. There, the villages consisted of rectangular and round houses with mud brick walls. Cattle, sheep, goats, dogs and horses were domesticated. Clay figurines of oxen rams, barking dogs and horses appear in abundance. Clay models of oxen with hollows in the forepart of the trunk and clay wheels with projecting hubs show that toy-carts were made, which remind us of those from Mohenjodaro. Highly conventionalized female figurines attest the cult of a fertility goddess. Pottery was unpainted, embossed or engraved with curvilinear or rectilinear patterns in the early phase and incised with geometric patterns in the later phase.⁴³

13. Extent and expanse of the Kurgan culture

Iranian influence is also noticeable in the lower Volga area, around the sea of Aral, in Uzbekistan and in Kazakastan to the Altai mountains. The earliest type of pottery, found there, is closely related to that of northern Iran.⁴⁴ The pots are of truncated egg shape, with round bases, decorated with incisions and dentate stamp impressions usually forming wavy lines and herringbone patterns. The earliest graves in the lower Volga area are single graves in deep pits, which contain the dead lying on the back with legs contracted upward and sprinkled with ochre. The construction of an earthen barrow over the dead is one of the most distinguished

43. C. A. Burney, "Eastern Anatolia in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age, *Anatolian Studies* 8 (1958) 157-199, B. Piotrovsky, "The Aeneolithic Culture of Transcaucasia in the Third Millennium B. C.", *Reports and Communications by Archaeologists of the U. S. S. R. VI International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences* (Moscow, 1962).

44. A. V. Vinogradov, "K Voprosu O Yuzhnykh Svyazyakh Kel'teminskoi kul'tury", *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, (1967), No. 3, pp. 25-42.

features of this culture. The word for an earthen barrow in the Russian language is *Kurgan*. Accordingly, this culture is called Kurgan culture. Three to four chronological phases of it, within the span of the third millennium, have been established by now.⁴⁵

14. Factors of urban development from Transcaucasia and Turkmenia to the Narmada Valley

It is clear from the above survey that over the vast territory, stretching from Transcaucasia and Turkmenia to the Narmada valley, a great complex of chalcolithic cultures evolved from the fourth to the second millennium B. C. Though they exhibited a variety of outlook and technique, ranging from nomadic to sedentary traits, they revealed a progressive trend towards settled life resulting in the growth of village communities. Men began to take to cattle-breeding and agriculture and the practice of arts and crafts necessary for them. This produced a division of labour and side by side accentuated the need of stability and adjustment. To perform this function, a ritualistic religion, centered on a fertility rite, associated with the Mother Goddess and implying a social hierarchy, came into existence. The stability of settled life resulted in an improvement in the techniques of production and the standards of life. Better ways of working metals, improved styles of pottery and advanced methods of cultivation made life more comfortable and refined, intensified trade and traffic, facilitated greater association of peoples and resulted in larger concentrations of settlements. Trade and industry, ritual and religion and defence and administration combined to develop villages into larger townships and fortified citadels. Workshops and furnaces of metals workers, as at Namazga Tepe, ziggurat-like religious structures, as at Edith Shahr, ramparted palace-complexes, as at Mundigak, construction of dams, as at Amri, and defence-equipment, as at Kot Diji, accelerated the tendency towards the urbanization of rural

45. N. Merpert, "Eneolit Steponi Polosy Evropeiskoi Chasti U. S. S. R.", *L'Europe à la fin de l'âge de la pierre* (1961), pp. 61-192. M. Gimbutas, "Notes on the Chronology and Expansion of the Pit-grave Kurgan Culture", *L'Europe à la fin de l'âge de la pierre*, (1961), pp. 31-100.

settlements. In course of time, this process led to the growth of the civilizations of Sumer, Elam and the Indus Valley.

15 The Indus Valley Civilization as the culmination of Indo-Iranian cultural evolution

We have observed that the Indus Valley Civilization is the culmination of a long process of social evolution starting from the rural habitations of the Indo-Iranian regions. It is wrong to describe it as an 'explosive phenomenon',⁴⁶ as Wheeler has done, or 'a sudden emergence without any trace of prior development', as Heine-Geldern has supposed,⁴⁷ since the cultural trends of Iran, Afghanistan, Baluchistan and north-western India matured and fructified into it, assuming in this process a highly individual and characteristic form. Thus Fairservis is right in stating that though the Indus Valley Civilization is the most 'Indianized', its essential roots are unquestionably Iranian.⁴⁸ It emerged from the same village complex, which is common to the Indus Valley and the Iranian plateau and even in adjacent regions. Its genesis and growth can be understood only in terms of the cultural configurations of the Indo-Iranian regions. Thus, its study can provide the key to the comprehension of the character and evolution of the people of these regions from the standpoint of racial composition and cultural formation.

16. The ethnic character of the Indus Valley people

Skeletal remains from Indus Valley sites have not so far been properly studied. The materials from cemetery R 37 and Area G at Harappa await the enquiry and test of anthropologists. At Mohenjodaro no burial has been found. On the basis of the examination of the skulls of the peoples,

46. Mortimer Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan*, (London, 1959).

47. Robert Heine-Geldern, 'The Origin of Ancient Civilization and Toynbee's Theories', *Diogenes*, No. 13 (.956) 38.

48. W. A. Fairservis, "The Harappan Civilization-New Evidence and More Theory". *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

massacred in the streets of that city, it has been shown that its population was mixed. Of these skulls, three are defined as proto-Austroloid, six as Mediterranean, one as of the Mongolian stock and four possibly as Alpine. The features of the remains from Cemetery H at Harappa are comparable with those of the proto-Austroloids of Mohenjodaro. In the words of Guha, "the Harappa remains also demonstrate the presence of a non-Armenoid and probably also of an Armenoid-Alpine race in the Indus Valley during chalcolithic times, whose presence was surmised at Mohenjodaro from the presence of a single skull of a child.⁴⁹ As Piggott points out, the Alpine type at this site is the same as represented at Sialk in Iran. Similarly, the features of the so-called priest or yogin with full beard and shaven upper lip resemble those of the statuettes found near Shiraz in Fars and said to belong to the Jamdat Nasr period (3200-2800 B. C.)⁵⁰. Hence, Hrozný thinks that the population of the Indus Valley represented a mixture of the Semetic people and the Indo Europeans⁵¹.

17. Are the authors of the Indus Valley Civilization Dravidians ?

Some authors identify the people of the Indus Valley with the Dravidians. H. Heras even sought to read old Tamil in the language used on the seals found from Indus Valley sites.⁵² But, as S. K. Chatterji observes, "it is highly improbable that in epigraphs from a culture-age going back to, say, 2500 B. C. there should be found a language, which is not much older than 500 A. D."⁵³ Yet Chatterji thinks that the Indus Valley civilization is Dravidian in character.⁵⁴ The main argument is that in Baluchistan we

49. M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa* Vol. 1, p. 238.

50. R. Ghirshman, "Notes Iraniennes XII", *Artibus Asiae* 26, No. 2, pp. 151-60.

51. Hrozný, *Histoire de l'Asie Antérieure*, p. 273.

52. H. Heras, *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture* (Bombay, 1953).

53. S. K. Chatterji, "Race Movements and Pre-historic Culture", *The Vedic Age*, p. 156; *The Cultural Heritage of India* New Series Vol 1, pp. 80-81.

54. B. L. Atreya, S. K. Chatterji and A. Danielou, *Indian Culture* p. 44.

have a pocket of Dravidian speaking people in the Brahui, which shows that "it is a surviving fragment of a very widespread Dravidian tract, which extended from Baluchistan and Sind through Rajputana and Malwa into the present-day Maratha country and the Dravidian lands of the south and which also extended north and north-east in the Panjab and the Ganges Valley and possibly also north-west through Afghanistan into Iran."⁵⁵ But it is noteworthy that the Brahuīs, though speaking a Dravidian language, are of Turko-Iranian origin and are ethnically distinct from the peoples of central and southern India. We may compare them with the Afghons, speaking a Hindi dialect, found in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan in Soviet Central Asia.⁵⁶ We know that in the Kuṣāṇa period South Indian regiments were posted on the northern frontiers of the empire. A burial of the warriors of this regiment has been found at Kalaly-gyr I and a gallery of them discovered at Toprak Kala in Khorezm. S. P. Tolstov thinks that their chief, possibly Wzrm (Wiramma), staged a *coup d'état* after the reign of the last Kuṣāṇa King Vasudeva I and inaugurated an independent dynasty, which produced three to five kings, who issued their own coins having a cross-shaped sign, a variant of svastika with rounded ends, such as we find on Āndhra coinage.⁵⁷ It is quite likely that, in course of the same or a similar movement of South Indian people in the North-West, a group of them settled in Baluchistan and gave their language to the Brahuīs. There is no certainty that these people lived there in the third or the second millennium B. C.

Besides the fact that we have no civilization analogous to that of the Indus Valley in the South among the Dravidians, some of their customs, as those of burial, differ from those of the Indus Valley people. Among the Dravidians, burial was in the form of interring the dead, whereas in the Indus Valley only the poorer sections of the people buried their dead and others cremated them and deposited

55. S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, *The Vedic Age*, p. 155.

56. J. M. Perrin, 'L' Afghon, dialecte indo-Aryen parlé en Turkestan', *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, 52 (1964), 173-81.

their ashes in large wide-mouthed urns containing a number of smaller vessels, bones of animals and of birds or fish and a variety of small objects such as beads, bangles and figurines etc. sometimes mixed with charcoal ashes.⁵⁸ Hence A. L. Basham rightly observes : "Historians have regarded the civilization of Mohenjodaro and Harappa as Dravidian, but ritual bathing, phallic worship, the Mother Goddess and the sacred bull are not essentially South Indian. The cranial evidence from the Harappan sites does not agree with that of modern South India. There is no Dravidian race and no Aryan race. The two terms are used only in linguistic or cultural contexts."⁵⁹

57. S. P. Tolstov, "Datirovannye Documenty iz Dvortsa Toprak-Kala i Problema 'Ery Shaka' i 'Ery Kanishki', *Problemy Vostokovedeniya* (1961) No. 1, p. 67 ; *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 20 (1963) 229.

58. John Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Valley Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 86 ; Ernst Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, I, p. 648.

59. A. L. Basham, "Some Reflections on Dravidians and Aryans". *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (Madras) II (1963) 225-34.

CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS OF THE INDUS VALLEY PEOPLE

In order to determine the true character of the Indus Valley people and their civilization it would be useful to study the data furnished by it in the light of the *Rgveda* which represents the ancient culture of the Panjab and the North West the Saptasindhu region. The important sources of the ideas and beliefs of the Indus Valley people are the seals bearing short inscriptions in an unknown script and representations of human and animal figures possibly of a religious character. Some of the motifs can be compared to some ideas of the *Rgveda* and then correlated into a coherent ideology of life.

1 The three headed figure on the Indus seal

To begin with we take up the representation of the three headed figure on a seal. The figure's head is crowned with a three pointed headdress of two horns and a central fan shaped structure. Its arms covered with bangles are outstretched with the hands resting on the bent knees. Around the neck and completely covering the chest are a series of triangular necklaces or torques and round the waist is a band beneath which there seems to be the erect phallus. Surrounding the figure are animals: an elephant, a tiger, a rhinoceros and a buffalo. Below the seat are two deer. Marshall identifies the figure with Siva.² The following arguments may be advanced in support of this view: (1) the figure is three faced and Siva is known as *trisirsa*³ and *trishaktra*.⁴ (2) he is seated in a yoga posture and Siva is

1 John Marshall *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Valley Civilization* Vol I plate XII 17 E. Macay *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro* Vol II plate XCIV 420

2 John Marshall *Op cit* Vol I pp 53-56

3 *Mahabharata* XII 284 12

4 *Ibid* XIII 14 165

called *yogadhyaksa*,⁵ (3) he has erect phallus and Śiva is described as *urdhvalinga*⁶ (4) he is associated with tiger, elephant and rhinoceros and Śiva is referred to as *śardulārūpa*,⁷ *nāgacarmottaracchada*⁸ and *gandalin*⁹ and is generally designated as *pasupati*,¹⁰ and (5) the horns and headdress are the sources of his later emblem, the *trisula*. On two other seals we find the same figure, on one, the three faces are visible, and, on the other, only one face is shown in profile, but the body, except for the waistband, is nude, which recalls the description of Śiva as *digvāsas*.¹¹ Notwithstanding these striking similarities, the bull (*vr̥ṣabha*), so closely associated with Śiva, is conspicuous by absence on the seal. Hence it is not quite certain that the figure stands for Śiva.

2 Various views about this figure

K. N. Shastri thinks that the whole form of the deity is 'cunningly contrived to be a combination of various animals'. His face is that of a buffalo, headdress consists of the horns of unicorns and the foliage of the pipal tree, arms are made of centipedes, the body below the neck is composed of two serpents, whose heads partly merge in the region of the chest but bodies branch off below the waist to form legs. The chest, 'if not partly tigrine, has at least a covering of tiger skin. The supports of the seat are crabs. Thus the god 'comes near to the Vedic god Rudra,' who is said in the *Āitareya Brahmana* "to be composed of the most terrible substances. It is also said that "there are some common points that evidently link the buffalo headed god with the Vedic Rudra, on the one hand, and the historic Śiva, on the other. Again, it is suggested that "he was in some way connected with the Mahisasura episode of Puranic

5 *Ibid*, XIII 17 77

6 *Ibid* XIII 17 46

7 *Ibid* XIII 14 387

8 *Ibid* XIII 14 155

9 *Ibid* XIII 17 91.

10 *Ibid*, XIII 17 91

11 *Ibid* XIII 14 162

times."¹² How the same god Rudra becomes Śiva and Mahiṣāsura is far from clear. Besides this, the aforesaid iconography of Rudra is not supported by any text and is purely conjectural.

T. N. Ramachandran holds that the aforesaid deity has a composite figure consisting of hawk, buffalo and axe and, in support of this view, cites the *Rgveda*, where Soma is described as follows : "Brahmā among gods, a leader of poets, a Ṛṣi among sages, a buffalo among animals, a hawk among vultures, an axe among weapons, over the sieve goes Soma with a roar."¹³ But this iconography has nothing to do with *Rudraḥ paśunām adhipatiḥ*, described elsewhere in the Veda.

Herbert Sullivan believes that the figure "is probably not a male, but a female deity, in fact, the same deity, who, wearing the three-pointed headdress, manifests herself in the sacred tree as goddess of vegetation-fertility. Could it be that, surrounded by beasts, she appears on the 'proto-Śiva' seal in another role, namely, as the 'Mistress of the Animals'?"¹⁴ He holds that all the deities of the Indus seals are females, a view just the opposite of that of K. N. Shastri. But the main argument in support of it that the male genital organ is not shown in some of the figures can be met by the analogous reasoning that the other prominent features of the female body are missing in them. The artist, in fact, used a stylized technique in depicting his figures.

12. K. N. Shastri, *New Light on the Indus Civilization*, pp. 12-13; *Harappa*, pp. 76-84.

13. T. N. Ramachandran, Presidential Address to section I of the Indian History Congress, Nineteenth session, Agra, 1956, p. 7, citing.

ब्रह्मा देवानां पदवी : कवीनां ऋषिर्विप्राणां महिषो मुगायाम् ।

श्येनो गृध्राणां स्वधितिर्वनानां सोमः पवित्रमत्येति रेभन् ॥

14. Herbert P. Sullivan, "A Re-examination of the Religion of the Indus Civilization", *History of Religions*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (1964) 115-25.

3. The three headed-god identified with Viśvarūpa Tvāṣṭra

P. R. Deshmukh¹⁵ is of the opinion that the god on the seal, mentioned above, represents the three-headed six-eyed god described in *Rgveda* X, 99, 6 :

“Lord of the dwelling, he subdued the demon, who roared aloud, six-eyed and triple-headed.

Trita, made stronger by the might he lent him, struck down the boar with shaft, whose point was iron.”¹⁶

The three-headed god, called Dāsa here, is described as the son of Tvāṣṭr in *Rgveda* X, 8, 8-9.

“Well-skilled to use the weapons of his Father, Āptya, urged on by Indra, fought the battle.

Then Trita slew the foe seven-rayed, three-headed, and freed the cattle of the son of Tvāṣṭr.

Lord of the brave, Indra cleft him in pieces, who sought to gain much strength and deemed him mighty.

He smote the three heads from his body, siezing the cattle of the omniform son of Tvāṣṭr.”¹⁷

Here, as well as in *Rgveda* II, 11, 19, the three headed son of Tvāṣṭr is named as Viśvarūpa :

“May we gain wealth, subduing with thy succour and with the Ārya, all our foes, the Dasyus.

Our gain was that to Trita of our party thou gavest up Tvāṣṭr’s son Viśvarūpa.”¹⁸

15. P. R. Deshmukh, *The Indus Civilization in the Rgveda*, p. 41.

16. स इहर्षं तुवीरवं पतिर्देन् षंकुक्षं त्रिंशुर्षाणि दमन्यत् ।

अस्य त्रितो न्वोजसा वृधानो विपा वराहमयोऽग्नया हन् ॥

17. स पित्र्याण्यायुर्गानि विद्वानिन्द्रैर्वित आप्तयो अम्बयुष्यत् ।

त्रिंशुर्षाणि सुतरंश्चिं जघन्वान् त्वाष्ट्रस्य चिह्निः संसृजे त्रितो गाः ॥

भूरोदिन्द्र उदिनक्षन्तमोजोऽवाभिनत् सत्पतिर्मन्वमानम् ।

त्वाष्ट्रस्य चिह्निश्चरूपस्य गोनामाचक्राणस्त्रीणि शीर्षा परां वक् ॥

18. सनेम ये त उतिभिस्तरन्तो विद्वाः स्पृष्ट आर्थेण दस्यून् ।

अस्मभ्यं तत् त्वाष्ट्रं विश्वरूपमरन्ध्रयः साख्यस्य त्रिताय ॥

Tvaṣṭṛ is the creator of the universe. He is the "maker of fair things", "the creator of Agni", (*Rgveda*, X, 2, 7)¹⁹ He is implored to be "gracious" and "to lengthen out the days of your existence" (*Rgveda* X. 18. 5).²⁰ "He hath made all forms and all the cattle of the field," and he is prayed to "cause them to multiply for us" (*Rgveda*, 1, 188 9).²¹ He is the "pious hero, swift of hearing, like gold in hue, well-formed and full of vigour" (*Rgveda*, II, 3, 9).²² He 'begets and feeds mankind in various manner. His, verily, are all these living creatures. Great is the God's supreme and sole dominion', (*Rgveda*, III, 55. 19).²³ Thus he is synonymous with Viśvakarmā Prajāpati, "mighty in mind and power, maker, disposer, and most lofty presence", (*Rgveda*, X. 82. 2)²⁴ and ṛsi, hotṛ and pitṛ (*Rgveda*, X, 81, 1).²⁵ We may also equate him with the *Mahat Atman* of the Upaniṣads encompassing the whole scheme of being as a creative process. The universe is his expression and its evolution is his unfolding. "He knows : I alone am this creation ; for I have created all this ; thence creation came to be."²⁶ "He has entered here down to the nail-tips."²⁷ "From him every-

19. यं त्वा यावत्पृथिवी यं त्वापुस्त्वष्टा यं त्वा सृजनिमा ज्ञानं ।
पन्थामनु प्रविहान् पितृयाणं शुमदं ममिधानो वि भाहि ॥
20. यथा न पूर्वमपरो जहोत्येवा धातरायुषि कल्पयैषाम् ।
आ रोहतायुर्जरसं वृणाना अनुपूर्वं यतमानां यतिष्ठ ॥
21. त्वष्टां रूपाणि हि प्रभुः पश्यन् विश्वान् त्समानजे ।
तेषां नः स्फातिमा यज ॥
22. प्रजां त्वष्टा वि व्येतु नाभिस्मस्मे अथा देवानामप्येनु पायः ।
वनस्पतिरवसृजन्नुप स्वादुमिर्हविः सुंदयाति प्र धीभिः ॥
23. देवस्त्वष्टा सप्तिता विश्वरूपः पुषोषं प्रजाः पुरुषा ज्ञानं ।
इमा च विश्वा भुवनाम्यस्य सृद्द देवानामसुरत्वंमेकम् ॥
24. विश्वकर्मा विमना आदिहाया धाना विश्वाता परमोत सृक् ।
25. य इमा विश्वा भुवनानि जुह्वयिर्होता न्यसीदत् पिता नः ।
26. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 1.4.5 : सोऽवेत्, अहं वाव सृष्टि-
रस्मि । अहं हीदं सर्वं असृक्षि । ततः सृष्टिरभवत् ।
27. *Ibid.*, 1.4.7 : स एष इह प्रविष्ट आ नखाप्रेभ्यः ।

thing came to be."²⁸ As the embodiment of the universe with its multitudinous diversity, he begets or incarnates himself into and becomes the omniform, Viśvarūpa, described also as his son. In fact, the father becomes the son. The three forces of mind (*manas*) life (*prāṇa*) and matter (*vak*) constituting, the architectonics of creation²⁹ are his three heads.

4. The triplicity of being

This triplicity of being explains the system of thinking and viewing things in triads. The Vedas are three : *Rk*, *Yajus* and *Sama* ; the gods are three : *Agni*, *Vāyu* and *Āditya* ; the fires are three : *Garhapatya*, *Dakṣiṇa* and *Āhavanīya* ; the worlds are three : *Prthivī*, *Antarikṣa* and *Dyaugh* ; the factors of existence are three : *Vama-Palita*, *Aśna* and *Ghṛtaprṣṭha*,³⁰ also called *Aja*, *Akṣara* and *Kṣara*,³¹ and, corresponding to them, in the Purāṇas the deities are three : Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva. Parallel to the three-fold conception of nature, gods and life, is the social structure of the societies of the Indo-Europeans, based on a tripartite classification of priests, warriors and husbandmen, as Dumézil has shown.³² This trinitarian principle of nature, pervades Indian thought in all its phases of evolution from the Veda to the Purāṇa and conditions all its philosophical formulations and orientations.³³ The three heads of the god on the Indus seal in question,

28. *Ibid.*, 1. 4. 10, तस्मात् तत् सर्वमभवत् ।

29. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 14. 4. 3. 10, एतन्मयो वा अयम् आत्मा वाङ्मयो मनोमयः प्राणमयः ।

30. *Rgveda* 1. 164 (*Aśvavāmīya Sūkta*), 1 :
अस्य वामस्य पलितस्य होतुस्तस्य आता मध्यमो अस्त्वशनः ।
तृतीयो आता घृतघृष्टो अस्वान्नापश्यं विश्वं सप्तपुत्रम् ॥

31. *Ibid.*, 1. 164. 42 :
तस्याः समुद्रा अष्टि वि क्षरन्ति तेन जीवन्ति प्रदिशुश्चतस्रः ।
ततः क्षरत्यक्षरं तद्भिवमुप जीवति ॥

32. George Dumézil, *L'idéologie tripartite des Indo-Européens* (Brussels, 1958).

33. *Līṅga Purāṇa*, I 70. 78 :

एत एव त्रयो देवा एत एव त्रयो गुणाः ।

एत एव त्रयो लोका एत एव त्रयोऽननयः ॥

obviously based on a similar *weltanschauung*, show that this conception of the triplicity of being has its roots in the Indus Valley civilization.

5. The headdress of horns

Besides the three heads, the figure of the god is shown to be having a pair of horns. On two other seals also we find the same type of headdress. To quote Macay, "seal no. 222 depicts a figure seated in what may be called a *yogi* attitude with the heels pressed together on a low dais, whose legs represent those of a bull. The headdress is a twig with leaves like those of a pipal. The horns, if, indeed, they are horns, are definitely separate from the head; they are, moreover, represented as fastened to the base of the twig. The figure has three faces, one in front and two in profile. On seal 235 there is a somewhat similar figure. The stool is omitted, however, and the figure is apparently seated upon the ground. The headdress consists of two horn-like objects, between which there appears to be a spike of flowers. A pigtail hangs down on one side of the head which has one face only in profile, facing to the right."³⁴ As Marshall observes, 'there can be little doubt that the horns have a special sacred significance. In plates XII, 18 and 22 they are certainly the emblems of the deity: in other cases they seem to have been transferred to the priest or possibly to the votary.'³⁵ In *Rgveda* I. 33. 12, the chief Śuṣṇa is called *śṛṅgin* (horned) and in VII 18. 7, one of the tribes, taking part in the Battle of Ten Kings, is known as *viṣṇin*, probably because its members or warriors wore horns on their heads. The horns in question are apparently of the bull, as we can infer from the expression *viśaśīpra* (having the headdress shaped like that of a bull), used in *Rgveda* VII. 99. 4.³⁶

34. E. Macay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol I, p. 335; Vol II, plate LXXXVII, nos. 222, 235.

35. John Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol I, p. 54. In many early mythologies a headdress of horns is a sign of divinity. J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (London, 1907) pp. 20-30; M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (London, 1950) pp. 185 ff.

36. दासस्य चिद् वृषशिरस्य माया जगद्युर्नरा प्रतुनाज्येषु ।

इन्द्राविष्णु रद्विताः शम्बरस्य नव पुरो नवर्ति च रनधिष्ठम् ॥

6. The horns and the bull

The horns of the bull are symbolic of the bull himself, who figures prominently on the Indus seals. On no less than 388 seals, we find the bull with one horn only, though, owing to the difficulty of drawing in perspective, one horn is supposed to be behind the other, as is clear from seals no. 234 and 359, where the same animal is shown to be possessed of two horns. On many other seals (Macay, vol. I, plate LXXXII, 689, 701), there is the short-horned bull with its head lowered as if about to charge and with a manger or food-vessel below the head. On nos. 135 and 655, however, and the unusually shaped seal, no. 229, the manger is missing. On about 25 seals are figures of the grand brahmani bull (Macay, plate XCIX, C; Marshall, pl. CXI, 337) with massive body, burly hump, flowing dewlap and long curved horns. In the *Rgveda* the bull symbolises many gods. For instance, in X. 31. 8 *Sūrya* is represented as a bull supporting the heaven and the earth; in I. 33. 13 the *vajra* of Indra is called a sharp bull; in X. 28. 2 Indra himself is described as a sharp-horned bellowing bull; in III. 55. 17 *Parjanya* is compared to the bull roaring in other regions; in VII. 3. 3 *Agni* is associated with a bull, 'but newly horn'; in II. 33. 15 *Rudra* is addressed as a tawny bull; in I. 160.3 *Dyaus* is given the epithet of a bull that bellows (V. 58). In fact, the bull incorporates the fecundity, which is the source of the procreative process of nature, and as such is the emblem of all those deities that represent its various aspects.

7. The spotted bull

In a majority of the representations of the bull on Indus seals, there is a flowing heart-shaped design, upside down, on the shoulder or the neck. On the bull figurine from Zhob also ovoid marks are painted between

Griffith (Vol. II, p. 94) takes the word *vṛṣadīpra* to mean 'bull-jawed' and even suggests that it may have been the name of a *dāsa*, but Śaṅkara in his comment on VIII. 1. 27 equates the word *dīpra* with headdress (*dīprastrāṇa*) besides chin and nose, (*hanūnāsike*). In V. 54. 11 the meaning 'headdress' of *dīpra* is very clear in the expression: शिप्रः शीर्षसु वितंता हिरण्मयी :

See also VII. 25. 3; VIII. 2. 28; V III. 17. 4.

the horns.³⁷ These bulls can be compared with the spotted bull mentioned in *Rgveda* 1. 164. 43 and interpreted as the Sun (*Rgveda* X. 189. 1) comprehending the two principles of immortality and death.³⁸

8. The three-headed bull

The figure of the god with three heads, surmounted by the horns of the bull, has its counterpart in that of the bull with three heads looking back, forth and down. In one figure the three heads of the bull are those of unicorn, ibex and bison (Macay, II, Plate XCIX B). This is an exact representation of *Rgveda* III. 56. 3 :

"The Bull, who wears all shapes, the triple-breasted or three-uddered, with a brood in many places.

Ruleth majestic with his triple aspect, the Bull, the Everlasting One's impregner."³⁹

The three aspects may be the triple bond of the bull mentioned in *Rgveda* IV. 58. 3.⁴⁰ This *Vrsabha* Viśvarūpa is but another form of *Tvaṣṭr* Viśvarūpa depicted on the seal in question.

9. The erect penis

The figure of the god is *urdhva-medhira* or having an erect penis, which shows his procreative potentiality. *Tvaṣṭr*

37. W. A. Fairervis, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-24.

38. V. S. Agrawala, *The Thousand-Syllabled Speech : I. Vision in Long Darkness*, p. 164.

39. त्रिपाजस्यो वृषभो विश्वरूप उत व्युधा पुरुष प्रजावान् ।
व्युत्कीकः पश्यते माहिनामस रतोधा वृषभः शश्वतीनाम् ॥

40. चत्वारि मृगा त्रयो अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सुप्त हस्तांसो अस्य ।
त्रिधा ब्रह्मो वृषभो रांरवीति महो देवो मर्त्यो आ विवेश ॥

As regards the composite character of this and other figures on Indus seals, the following observation of T. N. Ramchandran is noteworthy. "It appears that the biomorphs, natural and fanciful, of the *Rgvedic* poets, wherein we have to include representations combining human and bestial forms, are replicas of the zoomorphs of the Indus Valley seal engravers, modellers and sculptors. The minds of the *Rgvedic* people and the Indus Valley people appear to have thought out on the same lines, as much in accepting animals, birds and human beings, as they are in realistic study, as in integrating them into *āvedas* or chimeras." (*op. cit.*, p. 9).

also is described as presiding over generation and bestowing off-spring. Imploring him, the poet prays :

“Well pleased with us do thou, O God, O Tvaṣṭr, give ready issue to our procreant vigour.”⁴¹

He is, indeed, the universal father producing the whole world.⁴² He is also the father of Indra, as well as Vṛtra (*Rgveda* IV. 18. 12 ; III. 48. 2 read with IV. 18. 3). He is closely associated with celestial ladies or the wives of the gods (*Ibid.*, I. 22. 9) In the context of these references, it is futile to interpret what looks as *penis erectum* as the end of the waistband.

10. The hands loaded with bracelets

The hands of the god on the seal, under reference, are loaded with bracelets from the wrists to the shoulders. The arm of the danseuse from Mohenjodaro is also similarly covered with bangles. It appears that this was the prevalent fashion of bedecking the arms. In this connection it is noteworthy that Tvaṣṭr is called beautiful-armed (*sugabhastī*) or beautiful-handed (*supāṇī*) in *Rgveda* VI. 49. 9. This idea is translated on the seal by loading the hands of the god with rings according to the prevalent notion of beauty.

11. The pair of deer

Below the seat of the god are shown two deer. According to a myth, Prajāpati assumed the form of a deer to cohabit with his daughter Uṣas, who had become a doe. Rudra aimed an arrow at him, but was induced to lay it aside by his promise to make him the lord of beasts.⁴³ The *Mṛga*, *Mṛgavyādha* and the three-pointed arrow, *Iṣu Trikaṇḍa*, represent the transference of this myth into the sky.⁴⁴ The two deer below the pedestal of the god on the seal can be understood in terms of this myth.

12. The wild animals

The god on the seal is flanked by wild animals, buffalo and rhinoceros on the right and elephant and tiger with a man

41. *Rgveda*, III. 4. 9 :

तव्वस्तुरीपमधं पोषयित्नु देवं त्वष्टृर्वि रराणाः स्वस्व ।
यतो वीरः कर्मण्यः सुदक्षो युक्तग्रावा जायते देवकामः ॥

42. *Vajrasaneyi Samhitā*, XXIX. 9.

43. *Maitrayani Samhitā*, IV. 2. 12 ; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, III. 33.

44. A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 208.

in between on the left. In the *Rgveda* (III. 55. 19) it is stated that all creatures are of Tvāṣṭṛ and in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (III. 7. 3. 11 ; VIII. 8. 11), it is emphasized that beasts belong to him.⁴⁵

It is clear from the aforesaid data that the resemblances between the figure of the Indus seal in question and Viśvarūpa Tvāṣṭṛ mentioned in the Veda are so striking that there is no room for doubting their identity.

13. Indra and Vṛtra, the sons of Tvāṣṭṛ

We have seen above that the two sons of Tvāṣṭṛ were Indra and Vṛtra. When Indra killed Viśvarūpa, he created Vṛtra, who was possessed of Agni and Soma, of all sciences, of all glory, all nourishment and all prosperity.^{46a}

"Now, while Indra was, thus, moving on in pursuit of Vṛtra, he addressed Agni and Soma, 'Ye belong to me and I belong to you, that one is nothing to you. Why then do ye support that Dasyu against me ? Come over to me.'

They replied, 'What is to be our reward in that case ?' He offered them that Agniṣṭoma cake on eleven pot-sherds.

They went over to him and after them went forth all the gods, all the sciences, all glory, all nourishment, all prosperity. Thus, by offering that cake to Agni and Soma, Indra became what Indra now is."^{46b}

"Of old, everything here was within Vṛtra, to wit, the *rks*, the *yajus* and the *śamans*. Indra wished to hurl the thunderbolt at him.

45. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 116

46a. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I. 6. 4; Eggeling's translation, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XII, pp. 164-65.

46b. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-67; Text I. 6. 3, 12-15

स वा इन्द्रस्तथैव नुत्तश्चरन् (अ) अग्नीषोमा उपमंत्रयाञ्चक्रेऽग्नीषोमौ
युवं वै मम स्थो युवयोरहमस्मि न युवयोरेष किञ्चन कं म इमं दस्युं वद्धयथ
उप मा वर्तयामिति ।

तौ होचतुः । किमावयोस्ततः स्यादिति ताभ्यामेतमग्नीषोमीयमेका-
दशकपालं पुरोडाशं निरवपत्तस्मादग्नीषोमीय एकादशकपालः पुरोडाशो
भवति ।

तावेनमुपाववतु । तावन्तु सर्वे देवाः प्रेयुः सर्वा विद्याः सर्वं यशः
सर्वमन्नाद्यं । सर्वा श्रीस्तेनेष्ट्वेन्द्र एतदभवद्यदिदमिन्द्र एषः ।

He said, "There is here a (source of) strength : I will give that to thee, but do not smite me"; and gave up to him the *yajus* formulae. He aimed at him a second time.

He said, "There is here a (source of) strength : I will give that to thee, but do not smite me"; and gave up to him the *rk* verses. He aimed at him a third time.

He said, "There is here a (source of) strength : I will give that to thee, but do not smite me"; and gave up to him the *sāman* hymns."⁴⁷

It is clear from these remarks that Vṛtra was in possession of Agni and Soma and was the repository of *rks yajus* and *sāmans*. In Vedic terminology Agni and Soma stand for heat and humidity, semen and ovum, energy and matter, whose union shapes the course of cosmic evolution.⁴⁸ Similarly, in it *Yajus* signifies the principle of movement, *Rk* denotes the principle of formulation and *Sāman* means the principle of radiation and limitation ; all the three constitute the basic process of the development of a potentiality into a material form and then its spreading in all directions in space up to the limit of its capacity for expansion.⁴⁹ In this way,

47 *Ibid.*, SBE. Vol. XLI, p. 138, Text, V 5, 5, 1-5 :

वृत्रो ह वा इदमग्रे सर्वमास यदृचो यद्यजूंषि यत्सामानि तस्माद्भृशो
वज्रं प्राजिहीषत् ।

स होवाच । अस्ति वा इदं वीर्यं तन्नु ते प्रयच्छामि मा नु मे प्रहार्षी-
रिति तस्मै यजूंषि प्रायच्छत्तस्मै द्वितीयमुचयाम ।

स होवाच । अस्ति वा इदं वीर्यं तन्नु ते प्रयच्छामि मा नु मे प्रहार्षी-
रिति तस्माद्भृशः प्रायच्छत्तस्मै तृतीयमुचयाम ।

स होवाच । अस्ति वा इदं वीर्यं तन्नु ते प्रयच्छामि मा नु मे प्रहार्षी-
रिति तस्मै सामानि प्रायच्छत्तस्मादप्येतद्द्वयमेवेतैर्वेदैर्यज्ञं तन्वते यजुभिरे-
वाग्नेर्जग्मिरथ सामभिरेव ह्यस्मा एतत्प्रायच्छत् ।

48. V. S. Agrawala, *Sparks from the Vedic Fire*, p. 67 : *Vedic Lectures*, p. 76.

49. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, III. 12. 9. 1 :

ऋग्भ्यो जातां सर्वशो भूतिमाहुः सर्वा गतिर्याजुषी हव शश्वत् ।

सर्वं तेजः सामरूप्यं ह शश्वत् सर्वं वेदं ब्रह्मणा हव सृष्टम् ॥

Cited by V. S. Agrawala, *Vedic Lectures*, p. 27.

Vṛtra was the master of the cosmic existence and had the know-how of its integration. But he represented its static and torpid state, whereas his brother Indra signified its dynamic and progressive character. Ultimately, the dynamic urge broke through the static composure, the progressive impulse smashed the shell of circumscribing nature, Indra smote Vṛtra with his thunderbolt and released the waters from his imprisonment. Thus the victory of Indra over Vṛtra means the passage of the cosmic process from the static to the dynamic state. His acquisition of Agni and Soma and *Rks*, *Yajus* and *Samans* from Vṛtra signifies the turning of the universe into channels of renovation and change with a drastic alteration in its directive principles. This process is analogous to the penetration of *Yin* by *Yang* or the replacement of *Ku'n* by *Chien* in Chinese thought.⁵⁰

This drama of harmony and conflict, being enacted on the cosmic stage, is symbolized in the myth of how the two sons of Tvastṛ, Indra and Vṛtra, fell out with each other, the former killing the latter. According to the Brāhmanas the offering of the Soma juice to Agni amounts to the killing of Vṛtra by Indra.

14. The seal of three forms and seven figures

Let us now take up another seal. Macay has described it as follows :

"By far the most interesting seal with representations of the human figure is no. 430, which appears again on a large scale in plate XCIX (A).⁵¹ Here a tree-goddess or spirit, in a pipal-tree, as shown by the shape of its leaves, appears to a kneeling worshipper, behind whom stands a goat with a human face (cp. seal 606). In the register below are seven ministrants or votaries, each dressed in a short kilt and wearing a long pigtail and a spray of leaves or a feather in the air. The tree-spirit is apparently nude, but has a pair of horns, between which is a projection, which

50. James Legge, *Book of Changes. Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XVI, p. 372, Fung Yu lan *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, p. 138.

51. E. Macay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. II, plate XCIX.

was probably intended to represent a sprig of foliage like that worn by the deities on seals 222 and 235. The worshipper has a very similar head-dress and, like the goddess and the seven ministrants, is adorned with many bangles. The apparent object in front of the kneeling figure is merely a fracture in the seal, but beyond the foot of the tree on the right is a square partitioned receptacle very similar in conception to the pottery dishes in Plate LXVI, 12, 15, 24, 27, 34. The receptacle was probably intended for offering to the goddess, and it is not unlike the object in front of the buffalo on seal No. 279.⁵² Macay rightly observes that besides the figure in the tree being a goddess, "the kneeling figure may also be a deity as the same head-dress is worn by both"—"a goddess, but one of lower degree than the one in the tree". "The goat with a human face is certainly not a sacrificial animal. The presence of the animal in this scene recalls the fact that in Europe at the classical period tree spirits were believed to take the shape of a goat or to have goat's feet." "The seven figures below may be deities of lesser rank, or even the daughters of the principal deity. Their number seven is significant, for to it a mystical quality is attached in India as well as in other parts of the world."⁵³ Thus, it is clear that all the figures on the seals are deities and there is no question of a scene of sacrifice here, as supposed by some writers. The composition clearly recalls to the mind the following *īk*.⁵⁴

15. The three brothers and the seven sons

"Of this young priest and of that old priest, there is a middle brother of voracious nature,

His third brother has butter on his back, Here I behold the chief with seven sons."⁵⁵

52. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 337-38; Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Valley Civilization*, Plate CXVIII, 7.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 338.

54. *Rgveda*, I, 164, 1:

अस्य वामस्य पलितस्य होतुस्तस्य भ्राता मध्यमो अस्यश्नः ।
तृतीयो भ्राता घृतशृङ्गो अस्यात्रापश्यम् विद्वति सप्त पुत्रम् ॥

55. V. S. Agrawala, *Vision in Long Darkness*, p. 14.

Ind., Vol. 5.

Griffith's rendering of this *rk* is as follows :

"Of this benignant Priest, with eld grey-coloured, the brother midmost of the three is Lightning.

The third is he, whose back with oil is sprinkled. Here I behold the chief with seven male children."⁵⁶

The three brothers, called Vama-palita hotṛ, Aśna and Ghrtaṛṣṭha in this verse, correspond to *Avyaya*, *Aksara* and *Kṣara* or *Para*, *Parāvāra* and *Avāra*, mentioned elsewhere in the Vedas and Upanisads.⁵⁷ *Avyaya* is also called Aja or goat, which represents the cosmic being in an absolute and undifferentiated state. He is the Primeval Essence synthesizing stasis and activity. The first figure of the goat on the seal symbolizes this state of integration and repose. But an inner agitation (*ksobha*) moves Him to action. He becomes manifest as a creative process. He then exhibits a craving for material form and is described as hungry (*aśna*). The second figure on the seal seems to be eating something from the vessel before him and obviously stands for this state of the unfolding of creation. As a result of craving for matter and form, the absolute becomes relative, the formless assumes body, the homogenous develops into the heterogenous, the eternal is encased in the transitory, life incorporates itself into matter and the world of nature commences its evolution. The third figure of the person between the twigs of the plant on the seal indicates this state of Prajāpati entering the creation. It is significant that both the right and the left twigs of the plant have three leaves each, symbolizing the trinity of mind, life and matter. V. S. Agrawala has described the symbology, mentioned above, as follows: "If one is the principle of growth, the second is the law of assimilation and elimination expressed by the symbolism of hunger or of the eater of food. The third typical factor in the organization of life is the capacity of reproduction or procreation"⁵⁸ . . . "The three brothers of Agni constitute the tripod of

56. R. T. H. Griffith, *The Hymns of the R̥gveda*, Vol. I, p. 219.

57. V. S. Agrawala, *Sparks from the Vedic Fire*, p. 70; 'Vedic Symbolism' *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLI, Part 2, pp. 517-23.

58. V. S. Agrawala, *Vision in Long Darkness*, p. 17.

life, which in modern terminology, if that be permitted in an old context, it would be valid to conceive as the triple structural pattern of the human body with its central nervous system, manifesting as epiblast, mesoblast, hypoblast.⁵⁹

16. The symbology of seven

When the creative process starts, it manifests itself into seven categories, mind, life, fire, water, wind, sky and earth. These are the seven sons of the *Viśpati*, the lord of creation. They are symbolized in the seven *Ādityas* (sons of Aditi), *Mitra*, *Aryaman*, *Bhaga*, *Varuna*, *Daksa*, *Amśa* and *Vivasvān* (*Rgveda*, X, 72, 9), and the seven priests, *Hotr*, *potr*, *Nestī*, *Agnidh*, *Prāśāstr*, *Adhvaryu* and *Brahman*. The vogue of thinking in heptads proceeds from this outlook. The hymn of seven verses (*saptarcam bhavati*), the fire-altar of seven layers (*saptacituko'gniḥ*), the seven seasons (*saptaritavah*), the seven regions (*sapta di-a'*), seven worlds of gods (*sapta devalokaḥ*), seven stomas (*saptastomāḥ*), seven metres (*saptacchandasi*), seven domestic animals (*sapta grāmyaḥ paśava'*), seven wild animals (*saptaraṇyavāḥ*), seven vital airs in the head (*sapta śīrsanprāṇi*) and all things arranged in groups of seven (*vatkim ca saptavidham*) are examples of this tendency of thought.⁶⁰ The seven figures on the lower register of the seal in question represent the seven-fold system of creation. It is significant that these seven figures occupy the lower half of the seal, while the upper half consists of the three figures of *Aja*, *Aksara* and *Ksara*, as said above. In this connection it is noteworthy that the seven sons of *Viśpati* are called the

59. *Ibid.*, p. 18

60. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IX, 5, 2, 8. The way of thinking in heptads is also found in Iranian religion. The section of the scripture, called *Gāthā Haptañhasti*, consists of seven chapters. Here, for the first time, we find the conception of the *Amesha Spentas* or Bounteous Immortals as a group. They are *Vohu Manah* (the Good Mind), *Asha* (Truth or Righteousness), *Kshathra Vairya* (the Desirable Kingdom), *Armaiti* (Rightmindedness or Humility), *Haurvatat* (Wholeness) and *Ameretat* (Immortality). They are most closely associated with the supreme God, *Ahura Mazda*. Thus their number comes to be seven, (R. C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, pp. 65-66).

seven sons of the Half (*saptārdhagarbhāḥ bhuvanasya retāḥ*) in *R̥gveda* I, 174, 36. The idea is that one half of the creative process assumes the material form and the other half remains transcendent. The giving of half of the space of the seal to the seven images is a pointer to this imagery. Each of these figures is shown with a head-dress of horns and a long braid of hair. As Agrawala has suggested, the braid of hair is synonymous with the refuse or dead matter thrown out by a living organism.⁶¹ It indicates that the function of assimilation and elimination is taking place within the body. The being with the braid suggests that the element, it represents, is undergoing the creative process, which means the secretion and excretion of matter.

17. The seal and the *Asyavāmiya* Sukta

Thus, to sum, we observe that the seal in question depicts the creative process of the world, in which the unmanifest being (*aja*) is seized by the craving to assume form (*aśna*) and then incorporates himself in material existence and thereby becomes divided into the seven elements, mind, life and the five constituents of matter. It appears that the designer of the seal was rendering the ideas of *Ṛsi Dirghatamas* into visible figures. In this way, this seal and the *Asyavāmiyasukta* express the same cosmogonic philosophy through the symbols of forms and images and thus complement and illustrate each other by providing reciprocal commentaries.

18. The seal of five figures and the symbology of five

A variant of the aforesaid motif is found on another seal from Mohenjodaro.⁶² There the goat is shown between the squatting deity with upraised arm and the figure encased in the two twigs of the tree having four leaves each. These figures are on the lower part of the seal. On the upper half we have five figures. Here the symbolism of creation consists of a pentad rather than a heptad. This also accords

61. V. S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

62. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Valley Civilization*, Vol. III, Plate CXVI, 1.

well with the Vedic way of thought. A significant epithet of *yajña* is *pañcayāma*⁶³; mind has five planes (*pañcakośa*); life has five aspects (*pañcaprāṇa*); matter has five constituents (*pañcabhūta*). These three ingredients of being in their respective five-fold aspects together with the unmanifest essential principle constitute *Prajāpati* with sixteen forms (*Ṣoḍaśī Prajāpati*).⁶⁴ The working out of *Prajāpati* in the form of creation is *yajña*. It has eight parts: *pramā* (rule), *pratimā* (order), *nidāna* (model), *ājya* (butter), *paridhi* (wooden fender), *chanda* (hymn), *prauga* (chant) and *uktha* (recitation).⁶⁵ It is noteworthy that, on the seal in question, the leaves, emerging from the twigs, encasing the deity, are eight. They obviously seem to refer to the eight parts of *yajña* constituting the cosmic drama. To sum up all the representations on the seal, five figures above, three figures below and eight leaves of the tree, we get the number sixteen denoting the *Ṣoḍaśī Prajāpati* or the entire being depicted as a *yajña* or creative movement. Corresponding to *Ṣoḍaśī Prajāpati* is the *Ṣoḍaśī Saman* or the *Nanada Suman*, which is the cry of *Vṛtra* at the time of his being killed by *Indra*.

19. The Pipal tree

As seen above, a basic motif of the Indus seals is the pipal tree (*Ficus religiosa*). It figures on ceramic decoration, textile embroidery and art productions. On seals it has numerous designs and manifestations. On seal No. 387 figures a conventionalised Pipal tree emerging from the altar.⁶⁶ On a large number of seals we find a deity encased in a tree. In one case the leaves on the twigs are eleven and in another five. A familiar scene consists of a twig with five branches having seven leaves above and two below and horns or unicorns or snakes emerging from it and coiling to right

63. *Rgveda*, X, 124, 1. The five divisions of sacrifice correspond to the five oblations offered by the *Yajamāna*, *Hotr*, *Udgatr*, *Adhvaryu* and *Brāhmaṇa*, according to Śāyana, Griffith, *op. cit.* vol. II, p. 570.

64. V. S. Agrawala, *Vedavidyā*, p. 79.

65. Griffith, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 576.

66. Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 65.

or left. Another important motif reveals a figure on the tree scaring away a tiger, who looks back while retiring. On one specimen, besides the aforesaid motif, a person is shown as contending with two tiger-faced persons, who have plucked out two trees.⁶⁷

Tree-worship is found in many regions and religions of the world.⁶⁸ In the pre-historic art of Hazar Sum in Afghanistan, we find the tree-shaped man or the 'pine-man' with three branches.⁶⁹ In Buddhist literature, we came across numerous references to tree divinities. The two *śāla* trees at Kuśinagara, in the midst of which Buddha breathed his last, were regarded as the abodes of two *yaksas*, known by the name *Sundara*.⁷⁰

20. Prajapati as the plants

In Vedic imagery the *Aśvattha* or Pipal tree is the symbol of cosmic creation. In *Rgveda* X, 31, 7 both heaven and earth are said to have been fashioned from the cosmic tree.⁷¹ In answer to the question as to what was the tree, raised in the said verse, the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* (II, 8, 9, 6) quotes a verse to the effect that Brahman was that tree and that wood where it grew.⁷² According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Prajapati is the plants,⁷³ being the first manifestation of life on this planet. In the *Atharvaveda* a tree is

67. Macav, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Plate XC, B.

68. M. S. Randhawa, 'The Cult of Trees and Tree Worship in Buddhist Hindu Sculpture', *Rūpa'ebha*, Vol. 33, nos. 1-2 (1963) pp. 1-42.

69. Editta Castaldi, "Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan Preliminary Report on the Researches at Hazar Sum", *East and West* 14, (1963) p. 181.

70. Charlotte Vaudeville "La légende de Sundara et des funérailles du Buddha", *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, Tome 52, 1 (1961) 82.

71. किं स्विद्वनं क उ स वृक्ष आसु यतो यावावृक्षिनी निहतक्षुः ।

72. वृक्ष तद्वनं वृक्ष उ स आसु यतो यावावृक्षिनी निहतक्षुः ॥

73. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XII, p. 323; Vol. XLI p. 384.

called a goddess born of the goddess earth.⁷⁴ In the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, II, 7, the evolution of life from plant to man is clearly propounded.⁷⁵ In this process, the three aspects of life, called *prāṇa*, *apāna*, and *vyāna* work, within the framework of cosmic creation, consisting of the five constituents of matter, the two principles of movement, having positive and negative features (*prāṇa* and *apāna*), and the directive substratum of mind, collectively known as the eight Vasus. Thus the creative mechanism has eleven elements which make *Rudra* or the creator, in creative agitation. The eleven leaves on the twig, depicted on the aforesaid seal, clearly symbolize these eleven elements. As for the unicorns, emerging from the branch of the tree on some seals, they are manifestly reminiscent of *Ekaśrīga* or the *varāha*, in whose form God is said to have rescued the earth from the primeval watery chaos, meaning that the forces of nature extricated themselves from a state of confusion and assumed an ordered form.⁷⁶ The unicorns, supporting the twig with nine leaves, representing the creative process, made of the five constituents of matter, the three aspects of life, and mind, are the agencies of law and order, *īta* and *satya*, embodied in the *Varāha*.⁷⁷

21. The snakes Ahirbudhnya and Vṛtra

In another motif two snakes are shown to be emerging and curving to the left and right of the twig of the

74. *Atharvaveda*, VI 136, I.

75. A. B. Keith, *Rigveda Brāhmaṇas* (Harvard Oriental Series) p. 354. "They pushed upwards the sap of the waters; it became the plants and the trees. They pushed upwards the sap of the plants and the trees, it became fruit. They pushed upwards the sap of fruit; it became food. They pushed upwards the sap of food; it became seed. They pushed upwards the sap of seed; it became man."

76. *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*:

उद्धृतासि वराहेण कृष्णेन शतबाहुना । भूमिर्धेनुर्धरणी लोकधारिणी ।

77. T. R. Ramachandran suggests that *ekaśrīgavarāha* means the rhinoceros rather than the boar, because the latter has only two side tusks from the gape of its jaws. *Presidential Address* to Section I of the Indian History Congress, Agra, 1956, p. 8.

Aśvattha tree. On the reverse of a seal a snake is reclining on a low platform or dais of a tree.⁷⁸ In a scene two snakes follow the persons in kneeling posture flanking the central deity.⁷⁹ In Vedic terminology the serpent is both adorable and detestable ; as Ahirbudhnya it is praised and implored and as Vṛtra it is despised and condemned. Ahirbudhnya is associated five times with Aja Ekapād, three times with Apāmnapat, three times with the ocean and twice with Savitr.⁸⁰ Agni is also described as a raging serpent produced in the depth of the great space. In later Vedic texts Ahirbudhnya is connected with Agni *Gārhapatya* (*Vajasnēyī Samhitā*, V, 33, *Atareya Brāhmaṇa*, III, 36, *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* I, 1, 10, 3) and in post-Vedic literature his name serves as an epithet of Śiva and Rudra.⁸¹ In *Rgveda* VII, 34, 16 the poet praises him and says : "with lauds I sing the Dragon born of floods : he sits beneath the streams in middle air."⁸² Yaska (*Nirukta* X, 44) takes the word *budhina* to mean air. Thus the Dragon dominates the atmosphere. He represents the dynamic movement of the creative process in nature. But he also sometimes symbolizes the static aspect of the cosmic elements in the universe. As such, he figures as Vṛtra imprisoning the waters, and Indra kills him and releases the energies from his bondage.⁸³ The association of the snakes with the tree conveys the idea of the cosmos as a dynamic process.

22. The figure on the tree repelling the tiger

On some seals a figure on a tree repels a tiger, which looks back while retiring.⁸⁴ A similar design appears on the seals and sealings of Harappa. The lion, tiger or hyaena

78. Macay, *op. cit.*, Vol I, p. 350 ; Vol II, Plate XC, 24 (9).

79. *Ibid.*, Vol I, p. 362 ; Vol. II, Plate CIII, 9.

80. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 73.

81. A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of Veda*, pp. 136, 137.

82. अदृजामुक्थैरहिं गृणीषे बुधे नदीनां रजःसु धीदम् ।

83. *Rgveda*, II, 12, 3, यो हृत्वाहिमारिणान् सुप्तं सिन्धुम् ।

84. Macay, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Plate XC, 23, XCVI, 522 ; Vol. I, p. 658

represent nature in a wild, gross and selfish aspect.⁸⁵ In the *Rgveda* (I. 80. 7 ; V. 29. 4 ; V. 32. 37) a wild beast (*mṛga*) is identified with a demon. The Dāsa chief Pipru is called a wild beast and in II. 30. 4 there is a reference to a wolfish Asura (*Vṛkadvara*). In the Brāhmaṇas, these Asuras are associated with darkness, untruth and error, though they are also sons of Prajāpati. Agrawala calls them the "chthonic powers of the dark recesses of the earth" opposed to the celestial powers of heaven.⁸⁶ They seem to represent the element of stasis, egoism and disorder challenging the dynamic, comprehensive and orderly evolution of nature. The figure atop the tree, forestalling the tiger, who casts covetous eyes on it even while retiring, represents the symbolism of the opposition of order and disorder in the universe. In another imagery, the fox, challenging the lion,⁸⁷ gives expression to the same dichotomy of organisation and disruption.

23. The human figure struggling with the tiger-faced demons holding uprooted trees

Besides the aforesaid motif, we have a design where the tiger-faced demons have uprooted the trees and a central figure combats them with both hands. In another scene a human figure is shown struggling with a tiger ; sometimes he fights with two beasts to his left and right. This motif is taken to have been derived from the Gilgamesh Epic of Sumer, where Enkidu, the bull-faced companion of the hero, contends with the wild beasts of the forest, in course of his quest for the drug of immortality. There is nothing untoward in this view, for Sumer and the Indus Valley region were in close contact and exchanged many of their ideas and goods, but it is also not improbable that this motif represents the Vedic idea of the antagonism of order and disorder in nature.

85. V. S. Agrawala, *Sparks from the Vedic Fire*, pp. 115-16.

86. V. S. Agrawala, *Vedic Lectures*, p. 115.

87. *Rgveda*. X. 28. 4, लोपाशः सिंहं प्रत्यक्षमत्सोः क्रोडा ब्राह्मं निरतक्त कक्षात् ।

24. The mother-goddess and the fertility cult

A familiar figure from the Indus Valley is that of a mother-goddess associated with a fertility cult. Terracotta figurines of this goddess are very common from all Indus sites including Mohenjodaro and Harappa. The commonest type is a standing figure adorned with a wide girdle, often with a loin-cloth and almost always with a necklace and an emphatic head dress, which is generally fan-shaped above, sometimes with a shell-like cup or panmer.⁸⁸ The cult of mother-goddess is concomitant with the growth of agriculture in neolithic times and is attested over wide areas of the world.⁸⁹ In the Veda this goddess is known as Aditi, Virāj, Vasupatni, Viśvarūpā, Vaiśvadevi, Vaiśvadhāyā, Kevālī etc. She is the great principle of motherhood identified with universal nature or infinity.⁹⁰ She is described as intact (*anarvā*), widely expanded and extensive,⁹¹ belonging to all men and producing heaven and earth, the mistress of the cosmic order (*īta*),⁹² the principle of boundless and bondless universal nature⁹³, the mother as well as the daughter of Dakṣa Prajāpati or the creator in a creative agitation.⁹⁴ She is essentially a symbol of motherhood and generation. She bears milk containing butter (*ghṛta*) which is the cosmic seed (*retō vai ghṛtam*).⁹⁵ The collectivity of the creative element is symbolised by a full pitcher (*puṇakumbha*). Hence, in early myths we come across the legend of the birth of the living beings from a pitcher, *Kumbhavyom* and *Kumbhakarna*⁹⁶ embody such concepts,

88. R. E. M. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilisation*, p. 73.

89. Jean Pizyluski, *La Grande Déesse*, (Paris, 1950).

90. V. S. Agrawala, *Pision in Long Darkness*, p. 95.

91. *Rigveda* II. 43. 6, V. 46. 6.

92. *Atharvaveda* VII. 6. 2, *Pāṇasane'yi Samhitā* XX.1. 5.

93. *Rigveda*, V. 59. 8, निनातु दीर्घात्तैयं नुः स दानुवित्रा उपसो यतन्ताम् ।

94. *Ibid.* X. 72. 4, अदिर्दक्षो अत्रायत् दक्षादितिः परि । अदिर्दक्ष-
अनिष्ट दक्ष या दुहित्वा दक्ष ॥

95. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IX. 2, 3, 44.

96. D. D. Keshambi, 'Combined Methods in Indology', *Indo-Iranian Journal* VI (1963), Nos. 3-4, pp. 177-202; The word *Kumbhakarna* is of the same type as *Sāṅkarna*. Here the word *Karna*, derived from the Avestic root *Karna*, means 'born of', as Keshambi has shown.

Thus, it appears that the figures of the mother-goddess, bearing on her head a *kumbha*-like object, refer to these ideas. It is not very plausible to see in the object on the head of the figures a contrivance for burning incense or oil.

25 The human sacrifice to the mother-goddess

The fertility cult, associated with the mother-goddess, has assumed the form of the human sacrifice depicted on an oblong seal from Harappa. On the reverse side of this seal a nude woman is shown, seated on the ground with her arms uplifted. Before her stands a man with a sickle-like knife in one hand, and, perhaps, a bow in the other, obviously intending to immolate her. On the other side is the representation of a nude woman upside down with legs apart and a plant or tree emerging from her vulva.⁹⁷ Here we find a picture of the primitive agricultural ritual consisting of the ceremonial killing of a member of the community, and the distribution of his or her flesh among the people, and the scattering of a portion of it in the fields with a view to increasing the fecundity of the tribe and the fertility of the soil.⁹⁸ In New Guinea, Melanesia and Polynesia the sacrificial being is a male, but in Indonesia it is a female.⁹⁹ Sometimes a couple was sacrificed. After the sacrifice a new couple was made to descend from the top of a tree and indulge in sexual intercourse, which was mostly promiscuous and even incestuous.¹⁰⁰ All these concepts and practices crystallized in the doctrine of Prajāpati and his *yajña*.¹⁰¹ The sacrificial person, animal or plant, is Prajāpati, as the Brāhmanas expressly state.

97. Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, p. 52 Plate XII, 12.

98. Buddha Prakash, 'Yajña: An Anthro-po-Sociological Approach', *Bharatiya Vidya* XVI (1956) 60-72.

99. Gudmund Hart, 'The Corn Mother in America and Indonesia,' *Anthropos* (1951), 85:914; I. H. N. Evans, *Studies in Religion, Folklore and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula*, pp. 45-47.

100. D. K. Bedekar, 'Primitive Society and Yajña', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (1951).

101. A. W. Macdonald, 'A Propos de Prajāpati', *Journal Asiatique* (1952), 322, 335-36.

26. Rites and rituals of the Indus people

We have no means to know what ritual the Indus Valley people observed. No clearly defined religious structure of the type of a ziggurat or temple has so far come to light at any site. Wheeler thinks that House A 1 in HR area at Mohenjodaro was a temple. He attributes a religious character to a courtyard building in section G in D.K area and another building BXXX in HR area, facing which is a block of barracks, comprising sixteen units, arranged back to back in two lines, each having a backroom and a frontroom with brick-paved bathing floor and an escape hole for waste water.¹⁰² Pusalkar thinks that the rectangular aisles, separated from each other by long walls, suggest the Vedic sacrificial altars of rectangular shapes, in which offerings were made to fire and other gods.¹⁰³ In this connection, it is noteworthy that at Kalibangan pits full of charcoal etc. have been found in the houses, which may indicate the observance of some sort of fire ritual.¹⁰⁴ At that site in the Harappan level have been found what look like fire-altars with central stelae. On the western mound a row of these altars is found on a mudbrick platform near a well and a bath-place.^{104a} The whole complex looks like a *yajñabhūmi*. T.N. Ramachandran thinks that the figure of the person with shaved upper lip and a trefoil-studded (*rūkma*) sheet, worn *yajñopavita*-wise, represents a *yajamāna*, as described in texts. In his view, the so-called toy-cart was meant for carrying soma plant to the *yajñasāla* and the perforated jar served the purpose of pressing the juice in thousand streams (*sahasradhāra*).¹⁰⁵

27. The cult of ablution and cleanliness and the worship of Varuṇa

We are, however, on firmer ground in regard to the cult of ablution. The Indus Valley people seem to have had

102. Mortimer Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, pp. 41-42.

103. A.D. Pusalkar, *The Vedic Age*, p. 188.

104. H.D. Sankalia, *Prehistory and Protohistory in India and Pakistan*, p. 160.

104a. B. B. Lal, *Indian Archaeology since Independence*, p. 17.

105. T.N. Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

a passion for bath, lustration and cleanliness. The numerous wells and baths in private and public buildings and neatly built corbelled drains give evidence of the importance of water in the life of the people. In Sumerian texts the region of this civilization is called Dilmun (Telmun), as Kramer has shown, and is said to have been blessed by the water-god Enki¹⁰⁶. This god not only stands for purity and cleanliness but also presides over law and order and is, thus, synonymous with Varuṇa. In a Sumerian poem, called 'Enki and the World Order', it is said of him that

He cleaned and purified Dilmun,
Placed the goddess Ninsikilla in charge of it.

28. Varuṇa and Sarasvatī identified with Enki and Ninsikilla

The name Ninsikilla also means 'the pure queen', and, as Kramer has shown, is probably a further indication of the value put on purity and cleanliness in Dilmun.¹⁰⁷ As Enki or Ea corresponds to Varuṇa, Ninsikilla represents Sarasvatī. Both of them are Vedic gods, not attested in the Avesta. As Thieme has shown, "the Avesta has not even a trace of a god *Varuna." "We can, then, by no means be sure whether there existed a proto-Aryan *Varuna."¹⁰⁸ In the Iranian pantheon there is the god Ahura, who figures in the *Rgveda* as Asura and is mentioned distinctly with Mitra and Varuṇa in V 63. 3. This Ahura is the lord of waters (*apa*), that are called his wives or daughters (*Ahurānī*) in *Yasna Haptan-haiti* (38. 3 ; 68. 10)¹⁰⁹, just as Asura is said to be sprin-

106. S. N. Kramer, "Dilmun : Quest for Paradise", *Antiquity*, 37 (1963), 113-14 ; 'The Indus Civilization and Dilmun, the Sumerian Paradise Land,' *Expedition VI*, No. 3 (1964), 44-52.

107. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

108. Paul Thieme, 'The Aryan Gods of the Mitanni Treaties', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 80, (1960), 308.

109. R. C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, p. 65. This author has shown that before the reform of Zoroaster the greatest god of Iran was one closely akin to Varuṇa and going by the name of Ahura. It was Zoroaster who added the epithet (*Mazdāh*) to his name. Subsequently, this epithet replaced the original name (see p. 66).

klung down the waters in *Rgveda* V. 83. 6. At places, Asura is identified with Varuna, as in the concept of Asura-Varuna, and associated with waters. Attempts have been made to derive the word *Varuṇa* from *bharu*¹¹⁰ or *arunash*¹¹¹, meaning the sea, but ancient commentators like Sāyana connect it with the root *var*, 'to cover' (*Rgveda* I. 89. 3). However, the idea that he presides over the cosmic energy (*apañi*), which was also conceived as waters, both celestial and terrestrial, ultimately led to his conception as a god of waters. Consequently, he figures as the regulator of waters, causing the rivers to flow according to his ordinance (*Rgveda* II. 28. 4). He even becomes the surging ocean into whose jaws the seven rivers flow (*Rgveda* VIII. 58. 12). In the *Yajurveda* (*Taittiriya Samhita*, V. 5. 4. 1 ; VI. 4. 3. 2), the waters are his wives and he is the child of the waters, in which he establishes his abode. Likewise, in the *Atharvaveda* (III. 3. 3 ; IV. 15. 12), he is connected with the waters, as is Soma with the mountains, his golden house is in the waters and he sheds rain waters. But he is also the king, residing on high, driving in a car, sending out his spies in all directions and maintaining perfect law and order in his realm. Thus, it is clear that Enki, the god of Dilmun or the Indus Valley region, answers to the description of Varuna in the Vedic texts.

As seen above, Varuna is associated with the seven waters or rivers with Sarasvatī as the leading one. She alone of rivers appeared pure, flowing from the mountains, from the 'celestial ocean' (*Rgveda* VII. 95. 1 ; V. 43. 11). She is distinguished by greatness among the great, she is most active of the active, and is implored not to withhold her milk (*Rgveda* VI. 61. 13). She is the best of mothers, of rivers and of goddesses (*Rgveda* II. 41. 16). She is the purifier (*Rgveda* I. 3. 10), the giver of wealth and immortality and the dispenser of vitality and progeny (*Rgveda* II. 41. 17; X. 30. 12). Though she sustains and protects her worshippers, she also conquers and destroys their enemies (*Rgveda* VII. 95.

110. Jean Przyluski. 'The Three Factors of Vedic Culture,' *Indian Culture*, I, 375.

111. Bedřich Hrozný, *Histoire de l'Asie Antérieure*, p. 266.

4 ; II. 30. 8). On the one hand, she is beautiful, on the other, she is terrible and Vṛtra-slayer. By and large, she is the great healer, the wife of the Aśvins (*Vājasaneyi Samhita* XIX. 12. 94) and the invigorator of Indra (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* III. 9. 1. 7). In the *Brāhmaṇas* she becomes Vāk and is identified with Prajāpati (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* V. 1.5.6), Brahman (*Ibid*, II. 1. 4. 10), Brahmā (*Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* III. 9. 5. 5), Pṛthivi (earth) (*Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* V. 33), Antarikṣa (the middle atmospheric region) (*Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* IV. 22. 11), Dyauḥ (sky) (*Ibid*, IV. 22. 11), Virāt (universe) (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* III. 5. 1. 34), Viśvakarmā Ṛṣi (the universe fashioning sage) (*Ibid*, VIII. 1. 29), Indra (*Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* 11. 7), Agni (*Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* III. 10. 8. 4), Ṛgveda (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XIV. 4. 3. 12) and the ocean (*Tandya Brāhmaṇa* VII. 7. 9). She is also called the queen (*Mahīṣī*) (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* VI. 5. 3. 4), who heals everybody and is the friend of all (*Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* X. 5). In later mythology she becomes the goddess of eloquence and wisdom, invoked as a muse and regarded as the wife of Brahmā. Thus, she becomes the supreme deity.

In the *Rgveda*, Sarasvatī denotes a river. Spiegel and Hillebrandt identify it with the Haraquiti of Afghanistan¹¹² and Keith, Lassen and Max Müller take it to be the modern Sarsuti in East Punjab,¹¹³ but K. Chattopadhyaya has shown that, in the early portion of the *Rgveda*, it stands for the Indus, and, only in the tenth book, it comes to denote the Sarsuti.¹¹⁴ Thus it is clear that Sarasvatī, the mighty river-goddess, originally represented the Indus (Sindhu), in the valley of which developed the great civilisation, we are studying here. It, along with its tributaries, was the secret

112. A.A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 87; Spiegel, *Arische Urzeit* p. 105, Hillebrandt, *Vedisch Mythologie*, 1, p. 97.

113. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upaniṣads*, p. 173; Max Muller, *Vedic Hymns (Sacred Books of the East)*, Vol. 32.

114. K. Chattopadhyaya, 'Identification of the Rgvedic River Sarasvatī and some Connected Problems,' *Journal of the Department of Letters*, XV (1927) 43 ff.

of the riches and prosperity, which was responsible for the progress of that civilisation. Hence, it is no wonder that the people benefitted by it, raised it to a divine pedestal and worshipped it as the great goddess. Her role as the queen, who purifies and cleanses the defilement, unmistakably suggests her identification with the 'pure queen' Ninsikilla, to whom Enki is said to have given the charge of the land of Dilmun or the Indus Valley region.

29. The Great Bath and Avabhṛtha

It is clear from the above analysis that the principal deities of the Indus Valley region, Enki and Ninsikilla, mentioned in Sumerian texts, are Varuṇa and Sarasvatī of *R̥gveda*. Both of them are water deities showing the prominence of water in the life and culture of those people. The Great Bath at Mohenjodaro 39' × 23' × 8' surrounded by corridors and rows of rooms, perhaps double storeyed, one having a well to replenish the tank, a block of eight bathrooms, each about 9.5' × 6', with residential quarters on the upper storey, to the north of the Great Bath across the lane, and a long building 230' × 78' to the north-east of the Great Bath, which is interpreted as the residence of a college of priests,¹¹⁵ clearly attest the cult of lustration and ablution as the central point of the religious complex. The significance of these rites can be understood in terms of the concluding bath or Avabhṛtha, which the sacrificer has to take on the completion of the Soma sacrifice. Its ceremony consists of the casting of the antelope skins and girdles, worn by the sacrificer and his wife during the *yajña* as well as the utensils, which have come into contact with the Soma and the pressed shoots of the plant, into the water and then the going of the sacrificer and his wife into it and rubbing the backs of each other. At that time, offerings are made and prayers said to Varuṇa for driving away hate and pardoning sin. The bath itself is addressed as the cause of the removal of sin. The sacrificer takes the articles of consecration with him into the bath and is relieved of the mystic potency which

115. E. Macay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. I, p. 10

seizes him after the *Dikṣa*. But thereby the water comes to possess the magic power. Hence, those who go into it at the end of the bath at the horse sacrifice are released from all their sins notwithstanding their evil nature. In another rite the bath serves as the mode of driving out evil. A man is sent into the water upto his mouth, and on his head offerings are made to Jumbaka, to death, and to the slaying of an embryo. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 3. 6. 5), this man is said to be a symbol of Varuna.¹¹⁶ The Great Bath could have adequately served these purposes in a religious centre like Mohenjodaro.

The great dump of potshreds at Mohenjodaro and other places has been interpreted as a sign of the custom of drinking from a vessel only once.¹¹⁷ But the shreds may also represent the sacrificial pots (*kapāla*) on which cakes were offered in the *Yajñas*.

30. The burial customs

Though materials regarding the burial customs of the Indus people are few, yet we can presume that complete burials, fractional burials and post-cremation burials were prevalent. At Harappa, a cemetery, called R 37, and some burials in area G have been found, cemetery H being of a later period, but at Mohenjodaro no orderly burials have come to light, rather large wide-mouthed urns, containing a number of smaller vessels, bones of animals and of birds or fish and a variety of small objects, such as beads, bangles and figurines, sometimes mixed with charcoal ashes, have been recovered from the floors of houses or the streets, showing a cremation rite. In the Vedas also, we find both burial and cremation in vogue. In a ritual mentioned in *Rgveda* X. 16, the sacrifice of a goat and a bovine creature is enjoined. The goat is the share of Agni and the kidneys of the cow go to the dogs of Yama and so are placed on the hands of the dead.¹¹⁸ M. S. Vats finds a parallelism between these ideas

116. A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upanisads*, pp. 303-4.

117. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, p. 76.

118. A. B. Keith *op. cit.*, p. 419.

*Indus Val, 7

and the figure of a hound attacking a bovine animal (bull or cow) and the representation of a goat on a jar found at cemetery H at Harappa.¹¹⁹ The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 8) refers to the depositing of the dead in closed cemeteries and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VIII. 8. 5) mentions the custom of adorning them. In the Vedic rite, the dead were washed and anointed, their hair, beard and nails were closely trimmed, they were draped with new garment and garland and provided with ornaments.¹²⁰ The utensils, bow, staff, etc. were put by their side. Even the widows lay with them in a symbolic way. In the case of cremation, the bones were collected on the third or tenth day and put in urns, which were placed in pits, where waters did not run together from every side. In the event of burial, the aforesaid objects went with the dead to the 'house of clay', mentioned in *Rgveda* VII. 89. 1.

31. Mathematical notions

Some idea of the system of calculation in the Indus Valley cities can be had from the weights and measures found there. In the lower denominations the system of weights is binary 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32 etc. to 12800, and in the higher denominations the system is decimal with fractional weights in thirds. Measurement of length also seems to follow the decimal system. Besides this, fractions in thirds are also known.¹²¹ In Vedic literature we find both binary and decimal systems as well as fractions in thirds and multiples of three. In a list of gifts in the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (XVIII. 3) each successive figure doubles the amount of the preceding one. The fraction *ardha* ($\frac{1}{2}$), *pāda* ($\frac{1}{4}$), *śapha* ($\frac{1}{8}$) and *kālā* ($\frac{1}{16}$) are known, but only the first two are common. *Tṛtiya* denotes the third part. *Tripād* denotes 'three fourths'. Counting in tens or the decimal system forms the basis of numerical calculations. In the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* (XVII 2 ff.) the series is 1, 10 (*daśa*), 100 (*sata*), 1,000 (*sahasra*), 10,000 (*ayuta*), 1,00,000

119. M S Vats, 'Indus Valley Civilization', *The Cultural Heritage of India*, (New Series), Vol. I. p. 125.

120. A. A Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 165

121. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, p. 66.

(*nyuta*), 10,00,000 (*prayuta*), 1,00,00,000 (*arbuda*), 10,00,00,000 (*nyarbuda*) 1,00,00,00,000 (*samudra*), 10,00,00,00,000 (*madhya*), 1,00,00,00,00,000 (*anta*), and 10,00,00,00,00 000 (*parārdha*) In the *Kathaka Samhita* (XXXIX. 6) the list is the same, but *nyuta* and *prayuta* exchange places, and after *nyarbuda* a new figure *badva* intervenes, thus increasing *samudra* to 10,00,00,00,000 and so on The *Maitrayani Samhita* (11. 8 14) has the list *ayuta*, *prayuta*, then *ayuta* again *arbuda nyarbuda*, *samudra*, *madhya*, *anta*, *parārdha* The *Pancavimsa Brahmana* (XVII. 14 2) has the Vajasaneyi list up to *nyarbuda* inclusive, then follow *nikharvaka*, *badva*, *aksita* and finally $go = 10,00\ 00,00,00,000$ The *Jaiminiya Upanisad Brahmana* (1 10 28 9) list replaces *nikharvaka* by *nikharva*, *badva* by *padma*, and ends with *aksiti vyomāntah* The *Sankhayana Śrautasutra* (XVI 11 7) continues the series after *nyarbuda* with *nikharvada*, *samudra*, *salila*, *antya*, *ananta* (= 10 billions) ¹²²

It is clear from the above study that there is a fundamental unity in the religious outlook and philosophical conception of the Indus Valley Culture and the *Rgveda*. The entire conspectus of symbolism is common to them. Yet some scholars distinguish them. Let us consider their arguments.

CHAPTER III

THE PEOPLE OF THE INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION

1. The horse and the Indus Valley Civilization

Marshall and others consider the Indus Valley Civilization different from the Rgvedic culture, because it is ignorant of the horse, does not give prominence to the solar cult and has an iconic conception of gods. The first argument falls through, because bones of horse occur at high levels at Mohenjodaro, and from the earliest pre-Harappan levels at Rana Ghundai in northern Baluchistan both horse and ass are recorded. "It is likely enough", as Wheeler wrote, 'that camel, horse and ass were, in fact all a familiar feature of the Indus caravans'¹ I do not think' writes Macay, 'that we need be particularly surprised if it should be proved that the horse existed thus early at Mohenjodaro. The undoubted skeletal remains of the animal that have been found in southern Palestine by Sir Flinders Petrie are dated by him to the Middle Bronze Age (c. 2000 B.C.) Prof. Langdon, however, claims that the ideogram for horse on one of the tablets from Jemdet Nasr establishes the existence of the animal in the Middle-East long before 3000 B.C. Additional evidence of its domestication is afforded by representations of it incised on two objects recently found at Susa and dated to Awan Dynasty (3000 B.C.) If, therefore, as appears certain, the horse was known in Elam as early as 3000 B.C. the probability is that it was also known to, if not used by, the Indus Valley people at the somewhat later date 2500 B.C.'² Besides the evidence of the horse from Mohenjodaro remains, indicating the use of horse, have been found at Lothal³. Horse saddles have also come to light from

1 Wheeler *The Indus Civilization* p. 65

2 E. Macay *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro* Vol. I, pp. 289-90

3 *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, (1959-60) Plate XV, E.

Mohenjodaro.⁴ Thus, the knowledge and use of horse were prevalent among the Indus Valley people.⁵ As regards the solar cult, the figures of the *svastika* and the wheel attest its prevalence among these people. Macay has observed that "the urus-like animals or more probably the divinity, of which this animal was a symbol, may have been a solar deity, if we accept as the sun-disk the curious object with rays seen on seal 641 and in Plate C (G), in which the head of this beast takes the place of the sixth ray." Gadd holds that some of the motifs on Sumerian seals, bearing Indian influence, have astral significance.⁷

2. The anthropomorphic character of Vedic gods

As for the argument that the Ṛgvedic religion is aniconic and that of the Indus Valley is iconic, we should bear in mind the anthropomorphism and theriomorphism of Vedic conceptions. Varuna, Indra, Agni, Sūrya, Uṣas and the Aśvins all have well-defined human traits. Indra has a gigantic frame mighty neck, brawny back, golden complexion, tawny hair, beautiful lips and moustaches. Varuna is a fair, bald, yellow-eyed old man wearing a golden mantle, putting on a shining robe and riding in a refulgent car drawn by well-yoked steeds. Agni has a tawny beard, sharp jaws and flaming hair. Similarly, other gods have individual features, which reveal clear iconic conceptions. Of course, Vedic gods have their respective functional omnipotence and do not have, like Mesopotamian gods, limited jurisdictions confined to the geographical frontiers of temple-states,⁸ but similar is the case with the gods of the Indus Valley, as the absence of temple-complexes indicates.

3. The Dāsas and Dasyus

Let us now take up the more serious question of the dark-skinned *Dāsas* and *Dasyus*, who figure as the enemies

4. A.D. Pusalkar, *The Vedic Age*, p. 194.

5. A.D. Pusalkar, "Horse in Protohistoric India", *Munshi Indological Felicitation Volume*, (Bombay 1963), p. 237-41.

6. Macay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. I, p. 339.

7. C.J. Gadd, "Seals of Ancient Indian Style found at Ur" *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 21-23.

8. A. Goetze, *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients*, (1957), p. 131.

of Indra in the Veda.⁹ The word *dasyu* occurs in the form of *dainyu*, *dakhyu* and *dapyu* in the *Avesta* and in that of *dahyu* in the inscriptions of the Achaemenian kings.¹⁰ From this latter form have come the Hindi words *deh* and *dehāt* meaning 'village' and 'countryside.' Meyer and Hillebrandt equate this word with the name of the Dahae, a tribe "nearly akin to the Iranians in the Kirghiz-Turkman steppe, which extends from the Caspian Sea beyond the Jaxartes or Syr Darya."¹¹ Kent holds that this name survived in Dahistan of medieval times, which was situated to the east of the Caspian Sea.¹² Hence, it appears that the word *dahyu* or *dasyu* is an Iranian word meaning a country or a people like Pārs or Persia and Māda or Media. As Jahangir S. Tevadia remarks, "the suggestion that the original meaning of this term (*dasyu*) was enemy, from which was developed 'enemy people' or 'enemy country', is not convincing, for, in such a case, the phrase *aryanam dahyūnam*, 'of the countries or peoples of the Āryas', would be very strange in the mouth of the Avestic adorers." "I think," he goes on, "that the word meant 'people' or 'country' without any bad connotation originally."¹³ Thus, it is clear that the word *dasyu* or its variant *dāsa* does not connote a people ethnically different from the so-called Aryans. This conclusion is fortified by the fact that in the Veda Agni is called the grandson of Tvastṛ and Indra is known as his son.¹⁴ Vṛtra also is a son of Tvastṛ. Thus Indra and Vṛtra are brothers. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (1. 6. 3. 13) Vṛtra is expressly called a *Dasyu*. When Indra was moving in pursuit of Vṛtra, he addressed Agni and Soma, "Ye belong to me and I belong to you. Why do ye support that Dasyu against me? Come over to me."¹⁵ Thus Vṛtra is Dasyu. Indra

9. *Rigveda* 1. 51. 5. त्वं पिप्रोर्निमणः प्रारुजः पुरः प्र ऋजिश्वांनं दस्युदर्येवाविथ ।

10. Sukumar Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, p. 12, *pāsava drauga*, *dahyuvā vasaīyabavā utā rāsaiy utā māday utā amīyaxuvā dahuūvā*.

11. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, Vol. I, Section 425, p. 525; Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, Vol. I, pp. 94-116.

12. Roland G. Kent, *Language*, XII, p. 298.

13. *Vivabharati Quarterly*, December 1940.

14. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 57, 116.

15. Julius Eggeling, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XII, p. 166.

is the brother of Vṛtra, both being the sons of Tvaṣṭṛ. Therefore, from this point of view, Indra is also *Dasyu*. Agni and Indra are admittedly *Āryas*. Hence, there is no ethnic difference between a *Dasyu* and an *Ārya*. In a verse of the *Rgveda* (X. 49. 3) Indra is made to state that he had deprived the *Dasyus* of their appellation of *Ārya* : 'As Śuṣṇā's slayer I brandished the dart of death : I gave up not the Aryan name to *Dasyu* foes.'¹⁶

This shows that there was no ethnic distinction between the *Ārya* and the *Dāsa*. D.R. Bhandarkar holds that *Rgvedic* heroes, Divodāsa and Sudās, who are said to have been assisted by the Vedic gods, were *Dāsas*. As he writes, "we may proceed one step further and discuss who by extraction Sudās was. He was, of course, the hero of the *Dāśa-rājña* or the 'Battle of Ten Kings', fought on the Parusni, where there were *Ārya* and *Dāsa* allies on both the sides. But he was also the grandson of Divodāsa Atithigva. And Hillebrandt seems to be right in interpreting the name as the 'heavenly *Dāsa*' and conjecturing that he was himself a *Dāsa*."¹⁷

It appears that in Vedic usage *Dāsas* and *Dasyus* represented a section of people who came in for condemnation and vilification for some special reason, which we shall study later, with the result that, in later times, these words began to be used in a bad sense. It is against this background that we should study the epithet 'black-skinned' used for the *Dasyus*.

4. The connotation of dark complexion

The enemies of Indra are called 'dusky brood' *kṛṣṇagarbhā(h)*,¹⁸ 'swarthy' (*kṛṣṇa*),¹⁹ 'darksome creatures'

16. अहं शुष्मं ह्यनु इत्येता वधयेम न यो रर आयुं नाम दस्यवे ।

17. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, p. 4.

18. *Rgveda* I 101. 1.

प्र मन्दिने पितृमर्दवेता वचो. यः कृष्णगर्भा निरहन्मृजिद्वना ।
अवस्यत्रो वृषणं वज्रक्षिणं मरुत्वंतं स्रुयायं हवामहे ॥

19. *Ibid.*, IV. 16. 13 :

त्वं पिपुं मृगं शूशुवांसमृजिद्वने वैरथिनायं रन्धीः ।
पुष्पाशतं कृष्णा नि वपः सुहृन्नाशकं न पुरो जुरिमा वि ददं ॥

(*kr̥ṣṇa jāḥ*),²⁰ 'dusky skin' (*tvacam kr̥ṣṇam*),²¹ 'having their home or origin in darkness' (*kr̥ṣṇayoni*).²² Their complexion is looked down upon.²³ On the other hand, the friends of Indra are called 'fair-complexioned'.²⁴ This difference in colour has been taken to mean the difference in race. But ethnologists hold that colour is not an index to race. Buffon considers the human races as varieties derived from an original white form and developed under the influence of climate.²⁵ Montagu and Castle have shown that the greater deposit of pigment in the skin has a survival value by acting as a protection from the actinic rays of the sun in equatorial regions.²⁶ Thus, in hot climates even white people are apt to get dark. This probably explains why the people of Indian plains are generally regarded as black by the Iranians, as is clear from the fact that the word 'hindu' denoting India and the Indians, has come to mean 'black' in Persian. Besides this, blackness and whiteness are considered synonymous with inferiority and superiority

²⁰ *Ibid.*, VI. 47-21.

दिवेदिवे सुदक्षिण्यमर्धं कृष्णा अवेष्टुः सश्विनो जाः ।
अहं दाता र्षभो वसुधन्तोदवज वचिनं शम्भवं च ॥

²¹ *Ibid.*, I. 136-8.

इन्द्रं समस्त यजमानमार्थं प्रावद विश्वेषु शतमृतिराज्ञिषु स्वर्गहिलोऽना-
जिषु । मन्त्रे शर्मोद्वतान् त्वचं कृष्णामरन्धयन् ।

²² *Ibid.*, II. 20-7.

य इन्द्रहेन्द्रः कृष्णयोनीः पुरन्दरो दार्मीरिरयद् वि ।
अजन्तयन् मन्त्रे क्षामपदच सत्रा शंसु यजमानस्य तूतोत् ।

²³ *Ibid.*, II. 12-4.

येनेमा विश्वा ष्यवना कुतानि यो दामं वणमर्धं सुहार्कः ।
इष्टीषु यो जिगीषौ लक्ष्माददयः पुटानि स जनासु इन्द्रः ॥

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 100-18.

दस्युश्चिभ्यश्च पुरुहूत एवेष्टुत्वा पृथिव्यां शर्वा नि बर्हति ।
सन्तु क्षेत्रं सखिभिः दिवस्वधेभिः सन्तु सूर्यं सनदयः सुवज्रः ॥

²⁵ Franz Boas, 'Race', *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. XIII, p. 26.

²⁶ Ashley Montagu, *Man's Most Dangerous Myth*, (1945), pp. 38-39; W. E. Castle, 'Biological and Social Consequences of Race Crossing', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, IX (1926) 145-46.

in the social cadre. Thus, in Central Asia the aristocracy is regarded as white and the common people are treated as black.²⁷ The dichotomy of Spet Hyon or Śvetahūṇa (White Hun) and Karmir Hyon or Hārahūṇa (Black Hun) is based on this distinction.²⁸ Later on, this trend of thought resulted in such names as Qara Qun, Qarakhitai etc. In India also Patañjali follows this line of thinking when he contrasts the white teeth of the Brāhmaṇa with the black ones of the non-Brāhmaṇa.²⁹ Obviously, there can be no difference in the colour of the teeth, since they are white in the case of every race. The only idea underlying this suggestion is one of social superiority and inferiority conveyed through the words 'white' and 'black'. The term 'black' denotes not only inferiority but also contempt. It is in this sense that the Chinese used the epithet 'black' for all the northern peoples, who lived beyond the *limes* represented by the Great Wall.³⁰ Hence 'black' became a synonym for 'northern'. For instance, 'Black Bulgars' meant the northern Bulgars and 'Black Ugrians' were the northern Ugrians. Similarly, the Savarti or Sevordik were called 'Black Sons' in American sources. In all these usages of the term 'black' the colour of the skin was not meant. It was rather used to express the sense of contempt. This sense of the word 'black' in Indo-Iranian literature is manifest from the Gāthā Ustavaiti, where Zarathustra says: "That I will ask Thee, tell me it right, Thou Living God, who is the religious man, and who the impious, after which I wish to enquire, with whom of both is the *black* spirit, and with whom the *white* one? Is it not right to consider the impious man, who attacks me or Thee, to be *black* one?"³¹ Hence A C.

27. Otto J. Maenchen-Helfen, 'The Yueh-Chih Problem Re-examined', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 65 (1945) 76

28. Buddha Prakash, *Studies in Indian History and Civilisation*, p. 409.

29. *Patañjala Mahābhāṣya*, I. 413. 10.

ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्लाः दन्ता वृषलस्य कृष्णाः दन्ताः ।

30. J. J. M. de Groot, *Chinesischen Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens (Hunnen)*, Vol. I, p. 20.

31. Haug, *Essay on the Sacred Language, Writings and Religion of the Parsees*, p. 151.

PEOPLE OF INDUS VALLEY

Das observes "that a branch of the Aryan race, who were inimical to another, on account of difference of religious opinions, called the latter "blacks" although they were admittedly a white people"³² Likewise, D R Bhandarkar writes 'For aught we know to the contrary, the original Dāsas may have belonged to the Iranian race On the other hand, the word *varna* is taken by some scholars in a different sense The authors of the *Vedic Index*, for example, have rendered it by caste Perhaps, it will be better to render it by 'order, fraternity In all probability, it denoted some socio-religious order'³³ Thus, he concludes that the Dāsas and Dasyus "certainly could not have been of a dark complexion,"³⁴ and goes on to add that Divodasa and Sudas, the heroes of many hymns of the Rgveda, were Dāsas

The above discussion shows that it is not necessary that the epithet 'black', used for the Dasyus in the *Rgveda*, necessarily signified a swarthy complexion having a racial connotation It is rather a term of contempt and reproach

5 The meaning of the word 'anas

In this connection it is also necessary to consider the epithet *anas* used for Indra's adversaries It occurs for the Dasyus in *Rgveda* V 29 10 which Griffith renders as follows

"One car wheel of the Sun thou rollest forward,
and one thou settest free to move for Kutsa,
Thou slewest noseless Dasyus with thy weapon,
and in their home o'erthrewest hostile speakers"³⁵

About the word *anas* used in this verse, Macdonell and Keith observe as follows 'The sense of this word is

³² A C Das *Rgvedic India* pp 127 8

³³ D R Bhandarkar *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture* p 5

³⁴ *Ibid* p 4

³⁵ *Rgveda* V 29 10

प्रान्वचकमवृद्धं सूर्यस्य कृत्सायान्वद् वरिवो यातवेऽक ।
अनासो दस्यूरिमृणो वधेन नि दुर्योण आवृणह मूध्रवाच ॥

not absolutely certain. The pada text and Sāyana both take it to mean 'without face' (*an-ās*), but the other rendering noseless (*a-nās*) is quite possible and would accord well with the flat-nosed aboriginals of the Dravidian type, whose language still persists among the Brahuis, who are found in the North-West. This interpretation would recieve some support from Vṛtra's being called 'broken-nosed', if this were the correct explanation of the obscure word *ruja-nas*.³⁶ The word *rujanās* occurs in *Rgveda* 1. 32. 6, which is rendered as follows :—

"He, brooking not the clashing of the weapons, crushed — Indra's foe—the shattered forts in falling."³⁷

Geldner takes the word *rujanās* to mean a car-breaker, or nose-breaker, but Sāyana and Skanda interpret it in the sense of a river and the Nighaṇṭu (I. 13; IV. 3) also equates it with the name of a river. Likewise, Sāyana breaks the compound *anās* as *an-as* or without face. There is no reason why the old interpretation of this word be rejected in preference to modern conjectures, based on the supposition that the pre-Aryan population of India consisted of snub-nosed Dravidians. In fact *anās*, meaning faceless, is also a term of reproach like *kṛṣṇayoniḥ*, studied above.

6. The sense of the expression 'mṛdhravāc'

Another term used for the Dasyus is 'hostile speakers' (*mṛdhravācaḥ*).³⁸ This implies the idea of hostility and contempt,

36. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 347.

37. *Rgveda*, I. 32., 6 :

नातारीदस्युः समृतिं वधानां सं रुजानाः पिपिव हन्द्रशत्रुः ।

Sāyana's comment on the above : अस्य हन्द्रस्य वधानां समृतिं (संगमं) नातारीद् पूर्वोक्तो दुर्मदः तरितुं नाशकनोद् । हन्द्रशत्रुः वृत्रः हन्द्रेण हतः नदीषु पतितः सन् रुजानाः नदीः सम् पिपिवे सम्बद्धं पिष्टवान् ।

Skanda observes (*Bhāṣya* on Yāska's *Nirukta* VI. 1. 4) एतच्च पदं नदीनामसु पठ्यते । एकपदिके पठितस्यापि अनवगतत्वाद् इह उपश्लेषः । रुजैश्च परस्मैपदित्वात् शानच् अनवगतम् । (Edn L. Sarup Vol. II.

p. 402).

38. *Rgveda*, V. 29. 10.

Hillebrandt has shown that some of the adversaries of Indra and his followers have names of Iranian appearance : Marka is Avestan Mahrka, Kāvya Ušanā can be compared with Kai Kaos, Prahāda Kāyādhava is identical with Kayadha and Sīma is analogous to Salm, son of Thraetaona.³⁹ Keith does not favour this view but adduces no evidence or reasoning for discarding it. As a matter of fact, there is a strong possibility of the antagonists of Indra being akin to the Iranians with the result that their speech is also of Indo-Iranian origin. In this connection we have to bear in mind the fact that in *Rgveda* VII. 18. 9 the antagonists of Sudās in the battle of the Parusni are called 'babblers' or 'of indistinct speech' (*vadhrivacah*) :

"Indra abandoned to Sudās, the manly, the swiftly flying foes, unmanly babblers."⁴⁰

Again in *Rgveda* VII. 18. 13 Puru or Purukutsa, the leader of the enemies of Sudās, is called *mīdhravāc*, which Griffith translates as 'scornful'.⁴¹

These enemies of Sudās included the Purus, Pakthas Bhrgus, Druhyus, Anus, Yadu-Turvaśas, Bhalānas, Almas, Śivas and Visānins, all of whom were Indo-Iranian tribes, as we shall see in chapter V. Their purely Vedic character is clear from their invocation of the same gods, Indra and Varuṇa, whom Sudās implored on the eve of the engagement on the Parusni. The *Rgveda* (VII. 83. 6) makes it crystal clear :

"The men of both the hosts invoked you in the fight, Indra and Varuṇa, that they might win the wealth.

"What time ye helped Sudās, with all the Tṛtsu folk, when the Ten Kings had pressed him down in their attack."⁴²

39. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, III, 430 ff.

40. सुदास इन्द्रः सुगुर्वी अमित्रानरन्ध्रयन्मानुषे वध्निवाचः ।

41. इयानवस्य नृसंवे गयं भाग्येष्म पुरुं विदधे मधवाचम् ।

42. युवा इवन्त उभयांस आजिष्विन्द्रं च वस्वो वरुणं च सातये ।
यत्र राजभिर्दृष्टमिनिवाचितं प्र सुदासमावतं तृस्तुभिः सह ॥

Yet, in the following *ṛk*, the Ten Kings are called 'unworshippers' (*ayajyavah*).⁴³ If the invokers of Indra and Varuṇa are called 'unworshippers', then this word must necessarily be a term of reproach like 'babbler' (*vadhriṇāc*, *mṛdhravāc*). This discussion makes it clear that the expression *mṛdhravāc* does not imply the unarian character of the people, in respect of whom it is used.

7. The idea behind the epithet 'śīśnadeva'

Another epithet, used for, the opponents of Indra, is *śīśnadeva*, which is translated as 'phallus-worshipper'. But Griffith translates this word in *Rgveda* VII 21. 5 as 'lewd' :

"No evil spirits have impelled us, Indra, nor fiends, O Mightiest God, with their devices.

Let our true God subdue the hostile rabble; let not the lewd approach our holy worship."⁴⁴

In another passage in *Rgveda* X. 99. 3 Griffith renders the word *śīśnadeva* as 'lustful' :

"On most auspicious path he goes to battle; he toiled to win heaven's light, full fain to gain it; He seized the hundred-gated castle's treasure by craft, unchecked, and slew the lustful demons "⁴⁵

The element of lust is not altogether missing from Vedic gods. Indra is a virile romantic figure, the attraction of many women. Apart from his regular wives, such as *Prāsahā* and *Senā*, he had an affair with an *Asura* woman. She approached and charmed Indra making *muskas* (generative organ) at every joint. Indra, desirous of subduing her, made generative organs (*śepa*) at every joint.⁴⁶ Besides

43. *Rgveda* VII. 83. 7 :

दश राजानः समित्ता अयज्यवः सुदासमिन्द्रावरुणा न युयुधुः ।

44. *Ibid.*, VII. 21, 5 :

न यातव इन्द्र जृजुवृत्तौ न वन्दना शविष्ठ वेद्याभिः ।

स शर्षदुष्यो विषुणस्य जन्तोर्मा शिश्नदेवा अपि गुर्वृत नः ॥

45. *Ibid.*, X. 99. 3 :

स बाजं यातापद्भुषदा यन् त्वर्षाता परि वदत रुनिष्यन् ।

अनृवा यच्छतदुरस्य वेदो ह्यन्विद्वन्देवा अभि वर्षता भूत ॥

46. *Kaushiki Brahmana*, 23. 4

Indra, Tvastr is described as presiding over generation and bestowing offspring. He is closely associated with celestial ladies or the wives of gods.⁴⁷

Thus, it is clear that *śiśnadeva* does not necessarily mean a phallus-worshipper but signifies a sensuous or lustful person also.⁴⁸ It is a term of reproach for a person leading the life of excessive luxury and sensual pleasure.

8. The enemies of Indra are residents of the cities and citadels only

The above discussion has shown that there is no compelling consideration to treat the antagonists of Indra as ethnically different from him. Let us now approach this subject from another angle of vision. In the *Rgveda* Indra is shown to be pouring the vials of his wrath only on those Dasas and Dasyus, who are residents of the cities (*pura*) and citadels (*ninya*). Imploring him the poet says : "Thou smote down the swarthy fifty thousand, and rentest forts as age consumes a garment."⁴⁹ He along with Agni is said 'to have cast down the ninety forts, which Dāsas held, together, with one mighty deed.'⁵⁰ "Armed with the bolt and trusting in his prowess, he wandered shattering the forts of Dāsas."⁵¹ "He smote to the ground the hundred castles, impregnable, of Śambara, the Dasyu,⁵² when he came forward to help Divodāsa." These fortified cities, forts or castles, shattered

47. *Rgveda* 1, 22. 9.

48. A. D. Posalkar, *The Vedic Age*, p. 187.

49. *Rgveda*, IV 16. 13

पेचाशत कृष्णा नि वपः सहस्राःकं न पुरो जग्मा वि ददः ।

50. *Ibid.*, III. 12. 6

इन्द्राग्नी नवति पुरो दासपत्नीरधूनुतम् । साकमेकेन कर्मणा ।

51. *Ibid.*, I. 103. 3 :

स ज्ञातुर्ममो धृदधानं ओजः पुरो विमिन्दन्नचरद् वि दासीः ।

विद्वान् बह्विन दस्यवे हेतिमुभ्याऽऽर्यं सहो वर्धया शुभ्रमिन्द्र ॥

52. *Ibid.*, VI. 31. 4 :

स्वं शतान्वधु शम्बरस्य पुरो जघन्या प्रतीनि दस्योः ।

अशिक्षो यत्र शच्या शचीवो दिवोदासाय सुन्वते सुतके भरद्वाजाय गृणते वसुनि ॥

by Indra, were made of stone⁵³ (*aśmanmayi*), were protected with ramparts and gates,⁵⁴ could stand long sieges,⁵⁵ lasting for as long as one full year,⁵⁶ and were strong⁵⁷ and impregnable,⁵⁸ as if made of metal.⁵⁹ Inside them were amassed all kinds of wealth of the Dāsas,⁶⁰ which Indra captured after destroying them. These forts, citadels and cities may have a cosmic symbolism, yet they are manifestly replicas of actual towns, habitations and settlements, with which the authors of the hymns must have been familiar. Curiously enough the cities of the Indus Civilization answer to the description of the

53. *Ibid.*, IV, 30, 20.

शतमंससन्मयीनां पुरामिन्द्रो द्वांस्यत् । दिवोदामाय दाशुषे ।

54. *Ibid.*, VI, 18, 5 :

तङ्गः प्रत्नं सख्यमस्य युष्मे इत्या वदद्भिर्बलमग्निरोभिः ।
हस्तयुतचपुद् दस्मेपयन्तमृगोः पुरो वि दुरो अस्य विश्वाः ॥

55. *Ibid.*, I, 53, 8 :

एव कर्ज्जमुत पूर्णं वशीस्तेजिष्ठ्यातिथिग्वस्थं वर्तनी ।
एवं श्रुता वङ्गुग्न्याभिनत् पुरोऽनानुदः परिपूता ऋजिर्बना ॥

56. *Ibid.*, I, 131, 4

विदुष्टे अस्य वीर्यस्य पुरवः पुरो यदिन्द्र शारदीस्वातिरः सामहानो
अवातिरः ॥

57. *Ibid.*, I, 33, 12.

नपाविष्यद्विलीविशस्य दृक्कहा वि दृक्किणमभिनचकुणभिन्द्रः ।

58. *Ibid.*, I, 51, 11 :

उग्रो युधि निरः श्रोतंसासृज्जद् वि शुष्णस्य दंष्टिना पेरयत् पुरः ।

59. *Ibid.*, II, 20, 8

तस्मै तवस्यमनुं दायि सत्रन्द्राय देवेभिरणंसातौ ।
प्रति यदस्य वज्रं बाह्योर्ध्वेहवी दस्युन् पुर आर्यस्रीर्नि तारीत् ॥

60. *Ibid.*, I, 130, 7 :

भिनत् पुरो नवतिमिन्द्र पुरवे दिवोदामाय महि दाशुषे नृतो वज्रेण दाशुषे
नृतो ।

अतिथिगवाय शम्भरे गिरेरुग्रो अवाभरत् ।

महो धनानि दयमान् ओजसा विज्ञा धनान्योजसा ।

Ibid., VI, 20, 7.

एव पित्रोरहिमायस्य दृक्कहा पुरो वज्रिच्छवसा न ददः

सुवामन् तद् रेक्णो अप्रभुष्यमृजिर्बने दात्रे वाशुष दाः ॥

cities of the Dasyus in the Veda. Right from Kot Diji to Harappa and Mohenjodaro we have remains of fortified townships. At Kot Diji the defensive wall was built below with undressed stone blocks and above with mud bricks. Internally it was reinforced in the north east corner with 2·50 feet wide stone revetment and externally it was strengthened with bastions at regular intervals. At Harappa the defensive wall was 45 feet wide at the base and tapered upwards. The main bulk of it was of mud brick with an external revetment of baked brick 6 to 7 feet wide at the base and upwards. Its back was at first vertical but later a slope or batter was introduced for security purposes. At fairly frequent intervals along the wall were rectangular salients or bastions, some of which appear to have risen above wall-level. The main entrance would seem to be represented by a marked inlet on the northern side. On the western side a curved re-entrant in the defences, controlled by a bastion, led to a system of extramural ramps and terraces approached by gates and supervised from guardrooms. At the southern end of this system there seems to have been a ramp or stair leading up on to the citadel. As originally built, this defence had a revetment of brickbats rather than whole bricks and its construction was in marked contrast to that, which at last replaced it. Later on, the old revetment either fell off or was pulled down to within half a dozen courses of its base and was replaced by a new one carefully built of whole bricks in the finest Harappan style. This excellent reconstruction is particularly evident at the gateway in the curved re-entrant mentioned above, and in the adjacent tower towards the north, which was likewise refaced. A third structural phase eventually followed; the defences of the north-western corner were enlarged, and the gateway just referred to was blocked, showing that the inhabitants were on the defensive. At Mohenjodaro also we find an analogous defence system. At or near the south-eastern corner the citadel-mound incorporates in its margin a system of solid burnt-brick towers, which form a part of an accumulated complex not yet fully explored. The earliest of these towers, 31' × 22' was contemporary with the platform. It stood on massive burnt-brick foundation and was notable for the fact that its brickwork was originally reinforced by horizontal timbers, 9" × 5", now represented by

slots in the face of the building. As the timber decayed, the adjacent brick-work had tended to collapse and had been partially patched with brick. Two of the rectangular bastions at the south-eastern corner seem originally to have flanked a postern gate, which was later blocked and replaced by a platform with a parapet. In the debris of this platform the excavators found about a hundred baked-clay missiles, each approximately six ounces in weight. Further foundations lie beneath the surface to the east of these towers and may be found to represent, with them, a small fort or strong-point. On the western side of the citadel a baked brick tower or salient, still standing 10' high, has been partially uncovered, and, to the north of this tower, a small postern has been identified. It appears that the platform of the citadel was, in one way or another, of a defensible character throughout its circuit, but the defences were of a less simple and uniform kind than are found at Harappa.⁶¹ At Chanhudaro the defence consisted of a massive, well-built brick wall 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ '—5' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " wide and more than 80' long with a lighter return wall at its southern end. At Sutkagendor the defensive wall is built of large roughly squared stone slabs set in clay and appears to be not less than 30' wide at the base, though the outer face slopes inward at the steep angle of about 40 degrees. Near the western end of the southern side is an entrance 8' wide flanked apparently by massive rectangular towers. Towards the north, a lighter wall extends the main fortification for about 40 yards presumably as part of a former annexe. At Ali Murad, 20 miles south-west of Dadu, in Sind, a wall, built of roughly dressed stone blocks, each about 2' long and 1' square in cross-section, enclosed an irregular squarish area about 250 yards each way. A gap in the south side probably represented an entrance.⁶² Thus, it is clear that the cities of Indus civilization had fortified citadels with defence-apparatus consisting of walls of stone or brick revetment with bastions, towers and gates. They exactly tally with the *purās*, having ramparts and gates, described in the Vedic

61. Mortimer Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, pp. 30-31.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

texts. Their revetment of burnt-brick could give the impression of their construction with copper, which was probably the sense of the word *ayas*.

9. The citadels in the Indus cities

According to the *Rgveda*, the *puras* are associated with the mountains. In I. 130. 7 Indra is said to have shattered ninety forts and brought down Śambara from the mountain and in VIII. 4. 19 he is praised for hurling down Vṛtra from lofty plains. Obviously we have here clear references to the high citadels of cities, such as we observe in every Indus city. Inside the fortified citadels is located the residence of Vṛtra, called *niṇya*, as well as his wealth and mighty treasures. At Harappa the buildings inside the citadel cannot be identified, but the remains of long covered baked-brick drain and a double ringed well shows that it must have been thickly populated. At Mohenjodaro the usually long building (230' × 78'), to the north east of the Great Bath, must have been the residence of a very high official. It includes an open court 33' square on to which three verandahs open through embrasures. Five doors opened into this building from a lane on the east side and another on each of the south and west sides. The rooms are arranged as in a barrack. Their floors are paved with bricks and two of them have staircases. At the southern part of the citadel is an assembly-hall, some 90' square, divided from east to west into five aisles by twenty brick piers arranged in four rows of five each. The main entrance of the hall seems to have been in the middle of the north end. The sitting arrangement appears to have consisted of low benches set on neatly paved narrow corridors or gangways on the floor.

At Harappa the treasury or storage system consists of a complex of a double range of barrack-like dwellings, five rows of circular working platforms and a double range of granaries. The granaries, each 50' × 20', are ranged symmetrically in two rows of six with a central passage 23' wide. The approach to them was from the north, that is, from the river bank, suggesting the use of water transport for incoming or outgoing supplies of grain. They were entered from the central passage by short flights of brick steps, and the syste-

matic use of the passage itself for something more than transit is indicated by the presence in it of a number of carefully laid brick floors. The combined floor-space of the twelve granaries was something over 9000 sq. ft. and approximates closely to that of the Mohenjodaro granary as originally planned. The twelve granaries, each measuring 31'9" × 17'6", were arranged in two blocks with a 23' wide aisle in between. Separating the granaries from each other were corridors of 5'6" width. Each granary was partitioned into four narrow divisions by means of three equidistant full-length walls, which terminate in broader piers at the ends. These structures acted as the public treasuries.

At Mohenjodaro we have the granary in the citadel immediately west of the great Bath. It was 150' from east to west and 75' wide but enlarged by additions on the southern side. Originally it comprised twenty-seven blocks of brick-work of varying but regulated size, the northernmost range, as is shown by a straight joint, having been enlarged in the process of construction. The criss-cross layout of passages between the blocks ensured the circulation of air beneath the main body of the granary overhead. The superstructure had consisted of massive timber work, and the vertical chases in the eastern and southern blocks had presumably been intended to carry a timber stair or ramp. The external walls of the podium are battered or sloped and give the structure a grim fortress-like aspect, which befits its exposed position on the periphery of the citadel mound. Along its northern side is a brick platform, integral with the main building, with a brick-floored alcove near its western end. The walls of this platform are similarly battered, save for those of the alcove, which are vertical evidently to facilitate the hauling up of bales deposited beneath.

At Lothal the granary was near the dock. It consisted of twelve blocks, each 12' square and separated by channels or air-ducts, 3½' wide. The superstructure was probably of timber, which has been burnt, with the result that burnt and twisted clay sealings of normal Indus type have fallen from the stored bales into the ducts.

Similar granaries are also found in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Mallowan has suspected that the palace of Naram-

Sin, *cir.* 2,300 B.C. at Brak in Central Syria was in part used as a granary and held that a building not altogether dissimilar in plan at Ashur, perhaps some centuries later in date, was probably used for similar purpose, as indeed were many of the rooms contained within the early Sumerian and Mesopotamian temples.⁶³ Many texts throw light on the function of these granaries. A text from Ur implies that one of the granaries stored enough barley to provide wages for 4,020 days.⁶⁴ Another text refers to the commandant of the granary, who was responsible for seeing that 10,930 man-days' payment was made out of his store, presumably in barley, to meet the wages of workers including scribes, overseers, shepherds and irrigators.⁶⁵ A third text refers to royal barley, to be returned with interest, received by Lulamu from the granary of the canal-bank.⁶⁶ A tablet pertaining to the temple of Nan-she in Lagash refers to five different granaries, each with an approximate capacity of two tons, in which the harvests gathered from the fields were stored.⁶⁷ In Egypt also the treasury had a granary as one of its chief sub-departments for the collection of taxes in kind or 'labour'. The monarch also had his own granary for the storage of his revenues.⁶⁸

It is clear from the above account of the granaries that they served as the nerve-centres of public economy. To quote Wheeler, "Here (at Harappa), we may imagine, the flow of grain, doubtless the principal source of civic wealth, was regulated and distributed by government officials with their clerks and labourers; and the picture will be amplified when we find that at Mohenjodaro the Great Granary was in the citadel itself. In both instances we may fairly assume that the granaries were replenished by a system of state tribute, and that in some measure they fulfilled in the state-economy the function of the modern state-bank or treasury. In a moneyless age, their condition at any given moment must have

63. *Iraq*, Vol. IX (1947), Part I, 63, plates LIX, LX.

64. L. Legrain, *Ur Excavation Texts*, III, No. 1018;

65. *Ibid.*, No. 1429.

66. *Ibid.*, No. 1325.

67. J. B. Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets from Telloh and Drehem*, (Leipzig, 1919).

68. J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, (London, 1909), pp. 158, 237.

reflected, however partially, the national credit and efficiency or good fortune of the administration."⁶⁹ The location of the granaries in or near the fortified citadels seems to be the basis of the reference to the capture of treasures after storming the *asmanmayi* or *ayasi puras* found in the *Rgveda*. It may well be that these *puras* have a cosmic symbolism of stasis or arrest of the process of creation, but their conception is based on earthly replicas, which the authors of the hymns must have seen with their own eyes in their environment.

69 Mortimer Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization* p. 25

CHAPTER IV

THE BREAKDOWN OF THE INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION

1. The problem of deforestation

The question arises how the Indus Valley cities met their end. Archaeologists have assigned internal and external causes for this phenomenon. Piggott and Wheeler hold that the wearing out of the landscape, as a result of deforestation, caused by the excessive consumption of wood in burning bricks and other purposes, was a major factor, that contributed to the eventual collapse of that civilization. The gradual disappearance of forests checked the transpiration of moisture and reduced the rainfall and brought desiccation to the country¹. Externally, the invasions of militant tribes, identified with the Aryans, gave the *coup de grace* to this expiring tragedy. Fairervis has disproved the first hypothesis stating that there is a similarity of climate from ancient to modern times in the region covered by the Indus Valley Civilization. To quote him "In all probability there has been no significant climatic change in the Indo Iranian borderlands during the past 6000 or more years, a point that permits us to assess the ancient situation on ecological grounds familiar today. There appears to have been ecological continuity between the Indus Valley and Baluchistan, the differences being a matter of biotic density brought about by a difference in quantity of moisture resources"².

2 The cemetery H culture

The second hypothesis rests on the identification of the Aryan destroyers of the Indus cities with the people repre-

1 Stuart Piggott *Prehistoric India to 1000 B. C.* (Middlesex England, 1950) Mortimer Wheeler *Early India and Pakistan* (London 1959) *The Indus Civilization* (Revised edition Cambridge 1960)

2 Walter A. Fairervis *The Harappan Civilization—New Evidence and More Theory* *American Museum Novitates* No 2055, Nov 17, 1961, p 5

sented by the cemetery H culture at Harappa.³ B. B. Lal objects to this view on three grounds :

(1) There is a clear hiatus between cemetery H culture and Harappa culture. In the cemetery area a five to seven feet thick debris layer intervened between the Harappan cemetery R 37 and the lower stratum of cemetery H itself, and in the habitation area, the rickety walls, associable with cemetery H culture, were separate from those of Harappa culture by a deposit of not less than four feet in thickness. This shows that the Harappa culture was not in existence, when the people, represented by the cemetery H culture, came and settled at that site.

(2) The cemetery H people have revealed the features of the Proto-Australoids and the Armenoids, but not the northern steppe-folk, who are associated with the Aryans.

(3) The ware, characteristic of cemetery H, namely a very distinctive black-on red ware, is found only at two other sites in the Bahawalpur region, but not in the valleys of the Sarasvati, Gangā and Yamunā, where the Aryans are known to have played a major part.⁴

3. The painted grey ware people

Lal himself thinks that the Aryans, who put an end to the Indus Valley civilization, were the people represented by the painted grey ware culture. This ware has a fine to medium grained light grey core with the surface varying in shade from ashy to darkish grey. The grey colour of the pottery is apparently due to its being fired under reducing conditions in the kiln. The pots are usually wheel-turned, but hand-made specimens are not wanting. The commonest type, represented in this ware, are bowls slightly convex or, as in a few cases, round profile and shallow dishes with sagger or flat base as well as a vessel like *lota*. This ware has been found by Lal at about 30 sites including Panipat, Tilpat,

3. Mortimer Wheeler, *The Dawn of Civilization*, ed. Stuart Piggott, p. 249.

4. B. B. Lal, 'Protohistoric Investigation' *Ancient India* (Silver Jubilee Number, 1953), p. 88; M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. I p. 203 ff.

Pehowa, Raja Karan Ka Tila at Kurukṣetra, Mathurā, Inderpat, Kampil, Barnawa, Chhat, Baghpat, Rupar, Kotla Nihang, Ahicchatra etc. Ghosh has found it at 20 sites in the Ghaggar Valley. This ware occurs upto Lakhiyo Pir (Pakistan) in the west, Vaiśālī in the east, Rupar in the north and Ujjain in the south. Similar ware is found at Seistan also, and may be related to the bowls found in secondary burials at Shahī Tump in Baluchistan. The makers of this ware lived in houses made of mud or wattle-and-daub and practised agriculture, cattle-breeding and occasionally hunting. Among their animals horse was important. Their tools and weapons were made of copper though iron also came into vogue, as the iron-slugs in the upper levels of period II at Hastinapur show.⁵

A serious difficulty in the acceptance of the aforesaid view is that at no site, discovered so far, the painted grey ware has been found just above the Indus Valley ware. At Rupar there is a distinct break between the Indus Valley and the Painted Grey ware levels. At Hastinapur the Painted Grey Ware level follows a crude ochre-coloured pottery level rather than the pure Indus Valley layer. There the sample from upper levels range in date from 505 ± 130 B. C. to 355 ± 115 B. C., whereas the Indus Valley culture came to an end by the 17th century B. C. That the Aryan culture, if it supplanted the Indus Valley Civilization, could remain static and uniform for about one and a half millennium is not very plausible. Besides this, the Painted Grey ware is not noticed at Harappa or Mohenjodaro, the two most important sites of the Indus Valley Civilization. Thus, it cannot be said with certainty that the makers of the Painted Grey ware destroyed the Indus Valley cities. In fact, the evidence, available at present, shows that these cities had ceased to exist when the Painted Grey ware made its appearance. Leonard Woolley thinks that "a gap between the

5. B. B. Lal, 'The Painted Grey Ware of the Upper Gangetic Basin' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (1950) 89-102; A. Ghosh, 'The Rajputana Desert: Its Archaeological Aspect', *Bulletin of the National Institute of Sciences in India*, No. 1 (1952) 37-42.

fall of Harappan Civilization and the settlement of the Painted Grey Ware people would be inconclusive as an argument for or against the view that they were responsible for the destruction of that civilization."⁶ G. M. Bongard-Levin also believes that there was a big temporal gap between the decline of the main centres of the Harappan Civilization and the arrival of the people representing the 'Painted Grey Ware Culture'. He holds that the decline of the Harappan Civilization was due to internal causes rather than the invasion of the Vedic Aryans.⁷ D. D. Kosambi has very plausibly suggested that the Painted Grey Ware should be associated with the Pūrus or the Kurus. In his words, "Kuru land-clearing and occupation can only be associated with Hastinapur II and the excellent Grey Painted Ware. Archaeologists puzzle over this pottery, for calling it 'Aryan' leads to contradiction in that many indubitably Aryan sites produce no trace of the Grey Painted Ware. If the Grey Painted Ware be labelled not just 'Aryan', but specifically 'Pūru' ceramics, the main difficulty is resolved."^{7a}

4. The makers of the copper hoards of the Gangetic basin

Heine-Geldern thinks that the copper hoards of the Gangetic basin represent the advance of the Aryans. To quote him, "Some kind of migration from south-western Iran or Transcaucasia reached India between 1200 and 1000 B.C. This migration passed through the region south east of the Caspian Sea, where its traces can be recognized at Tepe Hissar near Damghan and at Turang Tepe near Astera-bad. It came from the very area, where historians place the bulk of the Indo-Aryan people at the time—15th-14th centuries B.C.—when some of its more adventurous groups, swarming out towards the south and the south-west, had

6. *History of Mankind*, Vol. I, (*Prehistory and the Beginnings of Civilization*), pp. 411-12.

7. V. Balabushevich, 'Some Problem. of History of India' *Papers presented by the U. S. S. R. Delegation to the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists*, 1963, p. 3.

7a. D. D. Kosambi, 'The Autochthonous Element in the Mahā-bhārata,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 84 (1964), p. 44.

acquired the mastery over the kingdom of the Mitanni and parts of Syria. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the migration in question was that of the Aryans from the Near-East to India. They may have been driven from their homes by a branch of that powerful ethnic movement, which, starting from the Balkans or from the lower Danube, destroyed the Hittite Kingdom around 1200."⁸

This view is untenable for many reasons. In the first place, B. B. Lal has shown that the copper objects like harpoons, antennae swords, shouldered axes, anthropomorphic figures etc., found from Babadarabad in the Saharanpur district (U. P.) to Kallur in Āndhra Pradesh, are distinguishable from corresponding objects found elsewhere in Eurasia.⁹ Secondly, the theory that the Aryans originally lived in the Balkans and the Danube basin and from there spread in the west and east, though reiterated in recent years by Bosch-Gimpera,¹⁰ has been ably challenged by Marija Gimbutas.¹¹ He has shown that the lower Volga area, the region round the sea of Aral, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan upto the Altai mountains, where a culture, called Kurgan, after the Russian word for 'borrow', meant for burying the dead, is attested from the third millennium B.C., is the urheimat of the Indo-Europeans. "The Kurgan elements," he writes, "fully correspond with the early stratum of Indo-European words concerning social structure, pattern of habitation, architecture (small rectangular timber houses), economy (predominantly stock-breeding, farming on a small scale), and religion (horse sacrifice, sun symbolism etc.). None of the cultures in the Balkans, in central and northern Europe, before the intrusion of the Kurgan peoples, shows this correspondence. This is the basic argument against the assumption of the Tripolye, Danubian and Funnel-necked Beaker cultures being Indo-

8. Robert Heine-Geldern, 'The Coming of the Aryans and the End of the Harappan Civilization,' *Man*, 56 (1956), 136-39.

9. B. B. Lal 'Further Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Basin and a Review of the Problem', *Ancient India*, No. 7 (1951), 35.

10. P. Bosch-Gimpera, *Les Indo-Européens, problèmes archéologiques*, French translation by R. Lautier (Paris, 1961).

11. Marija Gimbutas, 'The Indo-Europeans: Archaeological Problems', *American Anthropologist*, 65, No. 4 (August 1963), 615-35.

European¹²..... I would like to see in the expanding Kurgan people the common ancestors of all Indo-European groups that formed in the successive centuries in Europe and the Near East.”¹³ In the third millennium B.C., the Kurgan people, already divided into various tribes, speaking their own dialects, spread over the North Pontic area, Anatolia, the Aegean, the Balkans, central Europe, north-western Europe, the East Baltic area, and central Russia, and destroyed the old European neolithic and chalcolithic cultures and the Early Bronze Age Aegean and Western Anatolian civilizations. The third and most serious objection to Heine-Geldern's theory is that, according to carbon 14 determinations, the Indus Valley Culture came to an end about 2000 B.C. at Lothal and about 1700 B.C. at Mohenjodaro,¹⁴ whereas the migrations of the people, said to be Aryans, are believed by him to have taken place in 1200 and 1000 B.C., that is, long after the disappearance of the Indus Valley urban centres.

5. The users of the Ghul Ware

Fairservis holds that the Aryan destroyers of the Indus Valley Civilization are represented by new pottery types, which he calls Ghul Ware and a ware resembling the Jhukar style. The Ghul type is a heavy hand-made ware decorated rather coarsely with simple designs sometimes in polychrome. The designs consist either of simple geometric forms or of curvilinear motifs having a tendril-like appearance. It occurs on the surface of Dabar Kot, Periano Ghundai and Kaudain and is found in Rana Ghundai IV phase. The second type is a wheel-made ware decorated in broad lines of black and red running horizontally around the body of the vessels, with the rims frequently painted with loops and hatching. This ware is found at Dabar Kot, Moghul Kala and Kaudain and its decoration suggests the Jhukar style. “The evidence for a Jhukar occupation of

12. *Ibid.*, p. 827.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 829.

14. B. B. Lal, 'A Picture emerges: An Assessment of the Carbon-14 Datings of the Proto-historic Cultures of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent', *Ancient India*, Nos. 18-19 (1962-63), 208-21.

Baluchistan in the Gomal Pass area suggests that that pass was used by invaders at the end of prehistoric times. It is conceivable that the Jhukar people, pushed by militant pressures in eastern and southern Afghanistan, moved through the Gomal Pass to the Derajat or to the Zhob Valley and to Loralai, and thus to Sind. The Ghul Ware also follows this distribution in general."¹⁵ These wares are good candidates for consideration as markers of the period of Aryan occupation.

6. The Jhukar people and their culture

In order to examine this view critically it is necessary to go into the vexed question of the Jhukar people and their culture. This name comes from the site, named Jhukar, situated about six miles west of the town of Larkana in Sind, where N.G. Majumdar found a new kind of pottery, which he called 'Late Jhukar', above the remains, characteristic of the Harappan period, which he termed 'Early Jhukar'.¹⁶ Subsequently, a similar pottery came to light over the three Harappan levels at Chanhudaro about half a mile south of the village of Jamal-Kirio, near Sarkand. An analogous ware is also reported from Baluchistan. Macay has pointed out the differences between Jhukar and Harappan wares as follows :

(1) The Jhukar painted pottery is usually decorated in two colours, red and black, excluding the slip, which is cream, red, pink, grey or yellow, while the Harappan pottery is always in monochrome, i.e., black on a red slip.

(2) The designs and motifs on the Jhukar pottery are entirely different from those of the earlier wares. In the case of the Jhukar, the style is geometric, in that of the other, naturalistic. In Jhukar pottery animal figures have been found on only two pieces, on one the figure of a running ibex as on a shred from Periano Ghundai in northern Baluchistan, and on the other the figure of a goat with the forelegs resting on a plant device in the Sumerian manner.

15. Walter A. Fairservis, 'The Chronology of the Harappan Civilization and the Aryan Invasion—A Recent Archaeological Research', *Man*, 56 (1956), 153-56.

16. N. G. Majumdar, 'Explorations in Sind' (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 48), pp. 5-18.

On this ware floral devices are done in a conventional manner approaching the geometric design. The plant motif is based not on the pipal or the acacia, but probably on the lotus. The ball and stem motif, intended to represent a bud or seed vessel with a long stem, can be matched with a similar design on a shred from Jai damb in southern Baluchistan.

(3) The fabric of the Jhukar ware is coarser and more porous than that of their predecessors. The firing of the pottery is also inferior.

(4) The red slips, employed on some of the Jhukar pottery, are not always polished; when a polished slip is used, it has not the careful finish of the earlier wares, while the pigment used is of a much brighter tint. The cream-coloured slips, which are always thickly laid, have a peculiar straw-pitted surface, a feature entirely absent on the Harappan wares.¹⁷

Notwithstanding the aforesaid differences, there are some resemblances between the Jhukar and Harappan wares. To quote Macay : "The shape of the Harappa jar in Pl. XXVII, 68, for instance, is singularly like that of the Jhukar vessel in Pl. XLI, 38, though each is ornamented in quite a different manner. Again, the careful arrangement for a cover to fit the pan in Pl. XXIX, 37, is almost exactly duplicated on the Jhukar vessel in Pl. XLI, 50. The use of pedestal dishes by the people of both cultures implies some sort of contact, for this type of vessel, though very common in the Harappa period, is not known in the previous Amri period. A certain type of bowl-shaped jar-cover with a knob handle inside (Pl. XXVI, 12-34) was in common use during the Harappa period, and a similar specimen illustrated in Pl. XL, 17, is of Jhukar work. The use of red polished slips is another link between the two peoples, though the patterns employed are different."¹⁸

The Jhukar ware has still more pronounced similarities with the Amri ware, found at Amri, below Harappan ware,

17. E. J. H. Macay, *Chanhudaro Excavations 1935-36*, (New Haven, 1943), pp. 103-4.

and, at Ghazi Shah, intermixed with it. This ware has also come to light at Tando Rahim Khan and Chauro Landi in Sind. Its decorative technique consists of the use of red bands and geometric designs as in Jhukar ware. The popularity of the rhomb, four-petalled rosette and loop as motifs in it also connect it with Jhukar style. The use of pink slips and brown paints is also common to both, though the Jhukar forms are different from those of the older culture.¹⁹ Thus, it is clear that the Jhukar ware, being more akin to Amri than to Harappan ware, is based on an older indigenous tradition.

There are also some striking analogies between the Jhukar and Tell Halaf pottery. The red bands dividing some vessels of both cultures into horizontal registers, the checker-patterns with crossed lines used to fill in otherwise blank squares, the zigzag patterns in two colours, the rhomb motifs with incurved sides, the use of horizontal and vertical hatching as a border pattern and the figure-of-eight or *bukranium* pattern on a hatched or stippled ground are common to both, though the Jhukar decoration is much more advanced and sophisticated in style. The Tell Halaf Ware, probably of Syrian provenance, has resemblances with the pottery of Iran and Baluchistan.²⁰ Thus, it appears that in the evolution of the Jhukar culture many influences, radiating from Syria and Iran, worked with the developments arising from the native soil

The Jhukar people were cultured though poor. They used painted wares, head-rests, circular button-seals or seal amulets and beads of a characteristic type. They were conversant with the craft of glazing and proficient in mat industry, as is clear from the large number of bone-awls they have left. They had also contacts with peoples of Baluchistan and even beyond. They took up residence at Chanhudaro after it had been deserted by its inhabitants.²¹ This is clear from the fact that they raised the walls of houses in many cases with generally indifferent masonry constructed

18. *Ibid* , p. 128.

19. *Ibid* , p. 128.

20. M. E. L. Mallowan, *Prehistoric Assyria*, pp. 177-78.

21. Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, p. 222.

with Harappan bricks, whereas others of poorer status lived in square or rectangular huts of matting, paved with broken brick, with fire-places protected by low walls outside them. Macay thinks that "the date at which these Jhukar people occupied Mound II would seem to be round about 1700 B.C., possibly a little earlier, if our estimate be correct that Chanhudaro was finally deserted by the Harappa I people about 2300 B.C."²²

. It is clear from the above account that the Jhukar people derived their culture from indigenous sources and developed it in their own peculiar way. It is likely that they were contemporaneous with the Harappans and pursued their avocations of trade and industry in an independent manner. At some time they quietly took up residence in some deserted Harappan townships like Chanhudaro. There is nothing to show that they were a warlike people or that they conquered the cities from their Harappan dwellers. In fact, it is likely that their culture was an ingredient of that evolution which goes by the name of Late Harappan.²³

7. The Jhangar people and their culture

After the desertion of the Chanhudaro site by the Jhukar people, another people, bearing the name of the village of Jhangar near Schwan (43 miles north-east of Chanhudaro), occupied it. They are known from a grey or black (rarely red) ware, decorated with simple incised chevrons, herring bone pattern or hatched triangles, a distinctive type being that of three small conjoined bowls. Their potters used the *tournette* and were evidently ignorant of the fast wheel. They lived in huts of some perishable material like grass or matting. Macay suggests that "they may have been an aboriginal tribe, like the Bhils, who have now penetrated into Sind and have formed little communities, which, in that province at least, keep strictly to themselves."²⁴

22. Macay, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

23. Suraj Bhan, 'The Late Phase of Harappa Civilization', *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, II, (1964), 350.

24. Macay, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

It is clear from the above discussion that there is nothing to show that the Jhukar people were identical with the warlike Aryans. The stray find of a bronze or copper pin with a double spiral head or a bronze shaft hole axe is insufficient to connect them with the people which are given this name.

8. The movements of equestrian nomads

Stuart Piggott attributes the fall of the Indus cities to nomadic incursions. He holds that the resemblances among the copper tools, beads and personal and portable objects at Jhukar, Shahi Tump, last phase of Mohenjodaro, Anau III, Hissar III etc., are "manifestations of a fairly homogenous semi nomadic culture"²⁵ There are, however, differences in the pottery types, found at these places, which show that the nomadic peoples were accustomed to adopt the pottery of the local people. Thus, he regards these sites as representatives of a diffuse movement of peoples eastwards in the first half of the second millennium B.C.

The problems of the origins of nomadism are complicated. Excavations at the Transcaspian oasis of Anau in the extreme south-western corner of the Eurasian Steppe at the foot of the north-eastern escarpment of the Iranian Plateau have revealed that agriculture was the mainstay of its earliest inhabitants.²⁶ There the agricultural stage preceded that of domestication of cattle and nomadism.²⁷ When the process of desiccation made life difficult in the oasis and cultivation of cereals unprofitable, the people took to a life of wandering with their herds and hordes in the steppes following the rhythmic ebb and flow of greenery.²⁸ It is commonly admitted that the nomadism of central Asia is a far more recent phenomenon than people had believed and that the equestrian and martial nomadism of the East European and

25. Stuart Piggott, 'The Chronology of Prehistoric North-West India', *Ancient India*, (Jan., 1946), 24-25.

26. R. Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan: Expedition of 1904: Prehistoric Civilizations of Anau*, (Washington, 1908), Vol. I, pp. 38, 67.

27. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. xxviii.

28. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 437.

Asiatic Steppes emerged only towards 1000 B.C., or about two millennia after the appearance of civilization in the Near East and the Indus Valley.²⁹ It is, therefore, presumptuous to speak of nomadic horsemen bursting out of the steppes into Iran and India and putting an end to the Indus Valley Civilization in the first quarter of the second millennium B.C.

9. Floods and earth movements as causes of the decline of the Indus Civilization

Some scholars explain the collapse of Indus Valley cities purely in terms of physical factors. M. R. Sahni holds that floods were responsible for the destruction of these cities.³⁰ He also put forward the possibility of changes of level as a contributory cause of the end of some of these cities.³¹ Following this line of enquiry, Raikes concludes that the uplift and associated earth movements brought about the destruction of this culture.³² Fairservis accepts the role of over-cultivation, over-grazing, salinity and floods in the process of the fall of this civilization, but adds: "I would interpret such a collapse as occurring because the growing population of men and cattle spread to the limits of the feasible cultivated area so that the symbiotic balance was upset when no further expansion was possible, at least within the original area of settlement."³³ These purely natural explanations do not suffice to account for the col-

29. Franz Hančar, 'Stand und historische Bedeutung der Pferdezucht Mittelasiens im I Jahrtausend vor Christ', *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IX (1952) 480-82; Karl Jettmar, 'Seit wann gibt es Reiternomaden in Zentralasien?', *Die Umschau*, 53 (1953) 590-92; 'Les plus anciennes civilisations d'éleveurs des steppes d'Asie Centrale', *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, I (1953-4) 760-83.

30. M. R. Sahni, *Man in Evolution*, (Calcutta, 1952), pp. 153-54.

31. M. R. Sahni, 'Bio-Geological Evidence bearing on the Decline of the Indus Valley Civilization', *Journal of the Palaeontological society of India*, I (1956) 101-7.

32. Robert L. Raikes, 'The End of the Ancient Cities of the Indus' *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 66, No. 2 (April, 1964) 296.

33. Walter A. Fairservis, 'The Harappan Civilization—New Evidence and More Theory', *op. cit.*, p. 29.

lapse of the Indus cities. That human element played a leading part in this process is manifest from the distraction of the residents of the Indus cities, who buried hoards of jewelery and precious objects in the latest strata, divided large houses into smaller rooms to make room for more persons and built pottery kilns within the boundaries of the cities. The human enemies plunged into their streets and houses and killed them wherever they stood. The skeletons of persons, found in the streets and staircases without any burial equipment, a tell tale of a great disturbance. In one house at Mohenjodaro 13 skeletons, two having cuts on heads, and elsewhere 9 contorted skeletons have been found. In a well two skeletons and in the neighbouring lane 2 other skeletons lay. Recently, in the upper levels of the HR mound five skeletons have been found enmeshed in the debris consisting of a very thick accumulation of collapsed brick, ash and broken pottery between the walls bordering a narrow alleyway. They appear to be the victims of some disaster since they were not buried in any normal way.^{33a} Many towns and cities were consigned to fire. In *Rgveda* (III 15 4, IV 26 3, VI 19 39, VII 5 3), Agni is praised as the consumer of towns. In the *Taittiriya Brahmana* (II 4 6 8), Agni Vaiśvanara is said to have expelled the residents of ruined cities. The word for a ruined city or settlement was *arma* or *armaka*. The *Rgveda* (I 133 3) mentions two *armakas* *Vailasthanaka* and *Mahivailastha* whose inmates are called sorcerers, whom Maghavan is implored to smite. In I 133 1, the enemies are said to be lying slain in the ruins of *Vailasthana*, reminding one of the massacres of Mohenjodaro. The *Tandya Brahmana* (XXV 10 18) refers to a lake to the north of *Sthūlarma* in the vicinity of the *Sarasvatī*. This *Sthūla* is the same as the place of this name mentioned in the *Mahāvagga* (VIII 12 12) as the western boundary of the Middle country. The *Divyavadāna* (p 22) calls this place *Sthūna*. It is manifestly identical with *Sthanviśvara* or *Thanesar*. This shows that there was some old settlement at or near modern *Thanesar*, which was ruined or burnt. Curiously enough,

^{33a} George F Dales 'New Investigations at Mohenjodaro', *Archaeology* 18 (1965) 147

some research scholars of the Institute of Indic Studies, Kurukshetra University, have picked up some late Harappan pottery, including pieces of perforated jars, from some mounds in the Thanesar region. Systematic excavations are expected to shed light on the Harappan antiquity of this site. The *Laṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (X 18.3) mentions the ruined sites of Naitandhava and Vyarna on the Sarasvatī. Besides this, this text speaks of a ruined site near the source of the Drsadvatī. The *Jaiminiya Brahmana* (III 238) describes another *armaka* called Indrakrośa. Panini and the *Kaśikā* mention the following *-arma*-ending place-names: Bhūtarma, Adhikarma, Sañjīvarma, Madrarma, Aśmarma, Kajjalarma, Dattarma, Guptarma, Kukkuṭarma, Vāyasarma, Brhadarma, Kapīñjalarma, Maharma, Navarma etc.^{33b} Who were the destroyers of the Harappan settlements? To find an answer to this question we should examine some data of the *Rgveda*.

10 Destruction descends on the cities only

The Indus Valley Civilization represented a social pyramid with the villages as the base and the cities as the apex. For each city there were numerous villages. "The life of the farmers centered on the village and not the town or city and, under such conditions, the dispersal of fields was at a maximum".³⁴ The bulk of the population must have lived and worked in villages spread round ruralized or urbanized centres. But it is a curious thing that the wrath of Indra and Agni falls only on the cities and never on the villages. His enemies Dāsas and Dasyus, are urban people rather than village folk. They have a constant association with towns and cities (*purās*). In *Rgveda* II 20.8, Indra is said to have "slaughtered the Dasyus and cast down their forts of iron".³⁵ In I 103.3, the ṛṣi sings "Armed with

33b T. Burrow, On the Significance of the Term *arma armaka* in Early Sanskrit Literature, *Journal of Indian History* XLI (1963) 159-66.

34 Walter A. Fairervis, 'The Harappan Civilization—New Evidence and More Theory', *op cit*, p. 17.

35 *Rgveda* II 20.8.

प्रति यदस्य वज्रं बाह्योर्ध्वं दस्यून् पुरं धावन्तीति तस्मिन् ।

his bolt and trusting in his prowess, he wandered shattering the forts of Dasas³⁶ In III 12 6, the poet implores Indra and Agni saying, "ye cast down the ninety forts, which Dāsas held, together, with one mighty deed"³⁷ In IV. 32 10, the composer forthrightly avers "We will declare thy heroic deeds, what Dasa forts thou breakest down, attacking them in rapturous joy"³⁸ In I 131 4, the writer gives a historic context to Indra's achievement and says: "This thine heroic power men of old time have known, wherewith thou breakest down, Indra, autumnal forts, breakest them down with conquering might"³⁹ Being residents of the cities, these Dasas were very rich and amassed huge wealth Hence, the poet says of Indra "Valiantly didst thou seize and take the store, which Suṣṇa had amassed, when thou didst crush his fortresses"⁴⁰ His fervent exhortation to him is: "Tear thou asunder, as of old, like tangles of a creeping plant, demolish thou the Dasa's might May we with Indra's help divide the treasure he hath gathered up"⁴¹ Thus, it is clear that the object of destroying the forts of the Dasas was to appropriate the wealth which they had amassed there

36 *Ibid* I 103 3

स जातुभर्मा श्रद्धान् ओजं पुरो विभिन्दन्नचरद् वि दासीः ।

37 *Ibid*, III 12 6

इन्द्राग्नी नवति पुरो दासपत्नीरधूनुतम् । साकमेकेन कर्मणा ।

38 *Ibid* IV 32 10

प्र ते वोचाम वीर्याः या मन्दसान आरुज । पुरो दासीरुभीत्य ।

39 *Ibid* I 131 4

विदुष्टे अस्य वीर्यस्य पूरव पुरो यदि-द्व शारदीरुवातिर सासद्धानो अवातिर ।

40 *Ibid*, IV 30 13

उत शुष्णस्य धृष्ण्या प्र मृक्षो अभिवेदनम् । पुरो यदस्य संपिणक् ।

41 *Ibid*, VIII 40 6

अपि वृश्च पुराणवद् घृततेरिव गुपितमोजो दासस्य दम्भय ।

वयं तदस्य संभृतं वस्विन्त्रेण वि भजेमहि नभन्तामन्युके संमे ॥

11. The rich and greedy Panis

The Dāsas are brought into relationship with another class of people called Panis. In *Rgveda* VII. 6. 3, the Panis are expressly called Dasyus :

“The foolish, faithless, rudely-speaking niggards, without belief or sacrifice or worship.

Far, far away hath Agni chased those Dasyus, and, in the east, hath turned the godless westward.”⁴²

In *Rgveda* V. 34. 6-7, and *Atharvaveda* V. 11. 6, the Panis appear as Dāsas. The *Rgvedic* poet praising Indra says :

“Indra, the terrible, tamer of every man, as Ārya leads away the Dāsa at his will.

He gathers up for plunder all the niggards’ gear ; excellent wealth he gives to him, who offers gifts”.⁴³

In the passage from the *Atharvaveda* we read :

“There is one other thing beyond the welkin; there is something, hard to attain, hitherward from what is beyond : this I, Varuna, knowing it, proclaim to thee. Be the Panis of degraded speech; let the barbarians (dāsas) creep downward to the earth.”⁴⁴

42. *Ibid* , VII. 6. 3 :

न्यक्तून् मृधिनो मूध्रवाचः पर्णिरश्रद्धां भवुषां भयुजान् ।
प्र तान् दस्यूरग्निर्विधाय पूर्वैश्चकारापरैर् अमज्युन् ॥

43. *Ibid.*, V. 34. 6-7 :

इन्द्रो विश्वेभ्य दमिता विभीषणो यथावशं नेयति दासुमार्यः ।
सर्मा पुणेर्जति भोजनं मुखे वि दाशुषे भजति सूनर् वसु ॥

44. *Atharvaveda*, V. 11. 6, (Whitney’s translation, *Harvard Oriental Series*, Vol. VII, p. 238) :

एकं रजस एना पुरो अन्यदस्येना पर एकेन दुर्गच्छं चिदुर्वाक् ।
तत् ते विद्वान् वरुण प्र ब्रवीम्यधोवचसः पुण्यो भवन्तु नीचैर्दासा उप
सर्पन्तु भूमिम् ॥

The Paṇis are very rich, though miserly. Their main occupation is usury. Hence they are called usurers (*bekanaṭa*).⁴⁵ Yāska treats them as traders (*vaṇik*).⁴⁶ They are not always the objects of ridicule and hatred. When they distribute gifts and dispense largesse among the priests, they are openly praised. Their head, Bṛbu, is hailed as the most generous giver (*sahasra-dātama*).⁴⁷ Bharadvāja was the recipient of his generosity, according to a *Śrauta Sūtra*.⁴⁸ But he seems to be an exception, for, by and large, the Paṇis are described as niggardly and hoarders. When they withdraw their hands and close their fists, they are severely denounced as wolves.⁴⁹ They are also described as tyrants and oppressors, who withhold the waters and appropriate the cattle. In a mythic hymn Indra is said to have sent Saramā on a mission to persuade them to release the waters and the cows.⁵⁰

12. The Paṇis identified with the Indus traders

The above references make it clear that the Dāsas or Dasyus, called Paṇis, represented the commercial classes of people living in the cities. They practised trade and

45. *Rgveda*, VIII 66, 10 :

कद् महीरष्टा अस्य तविषीः कर्तुं वृत्रघ्नो अस्तुतम् ।

इन्द्रो विश्वान् बेकनाटो अहुर्वुत उत क्रत्वा पूर्णारिभि ॥

46. *Nirukta*, VI. 26 : पणिर्वणिग्भवति ।

47. *Rgveda*, VI. 45. 31-33 :

अधि बृबुः पणीनां विविधे मूर्धस्थेऽथात् । उरुः कश्चो न गाक्ष्यः ।

तत्तु सु नो विश्वे अयं आ सदा गृणन्ति कारवः । बृबुं सहस्रदातमम्
सुरिं सहस्रसातमम् ।

48. *Śākhayana Śrauta Sūtra*, XVI. 11. 11.

49. *Rgveda*, VI. 51. 14 :

प्रावाणः सोम नो हि कं सखित्वनायं वावशुः । जही न्यत्रिणीं पूर्णि
वृको हि यः ।

50. *Ibid.*, X. 108. 2 :

इन्द्रस्य वृतीरिषिता चरामि मह दुच्छन्ती पणयो निधीन् वः ।

usury and monopolised the economic resources of the country. Their control over waters seems to mean their ownership of irrigation facilities in the countryside and their mastery of cows appears to stand for their lien over the cattle wealth of the rural communities. They cast their monetary net wide in the villages by installing and controlling water-works and advancing loans to the people on high rates of interest and attaching their cattle as security. In the cities also they employed labour on a regimented pattern and held the reins of industrial production. This concentration of economic potential enabled them to extend their trade to international levels and command the commercial traffic of the then known civilized world.

13. The commercial connections and supremacy of the Indus people

We have numerous references to the flourishing trade of the Indus Valley people with the Middle East and even beyond. About 2450 B.C. Ur Nanshe, the king of Lagash, recorded that the ships of Dilmun brought him wood from foreign land. About a century and a half later, Sargon, the Great, the Semetic ruler of a considerable part of the Near East, claimed that the boats of Dilmun, Magan and Melukha docked in his newly built capital of Agade. Some 150 years later, Gudea the well-known god-fearing ruler of Lagash, stated that the lands of Dilmun, Magan, Melukha and Gutu supplied him with wood by ship. Throughout the second millennium B.C., we find references to the messengers and caravans from Dilmun in Akkadian texts. The identification of these geographical names is not free from controversy. Magan or Makkan is repeatedly mentioned in the records of the Third Dynasty of Ur. On their safe return, the Sumerian merchants, going to Makkan, presented to the temple of Nanar ivory, copper, beads of precious stones etc., as offerings for a safe journey.⁵¹ Gersevitch has proposed to identify it with the eastern coast of the Straits of Hormuz, but Durrani has suggested the possibility of its

51. Legrain, Figull and Martin, *Ur Excavation Texts*, Vol. III, p. 751.

being the same as Baluch-Makran in West Pakistan, where ancient copper ore working mines have been recently reported.⁵² As for Dilmun, Cornwall holds that it is identical with Bahrein, called 'Tylos' by Arrian and said to be at a distance of about a day and night's voyage from the mouth of the Euphrates for a ship running before the breeze.⁵³ But an inscription of Sargon II of Assyria locates it in the midst of the sea of the rising sun at a distance of thirty *beru* or sixty hours. S.N. Kramer has shown that Dilmun represents the entire zone of the Indus Valley Civilization.⁵⁴ Since there was much commercial and cultural intercourse between the Indus Valley and Bahrein and both belonged to the same complex of civilization,⁵⁵ it is likely that the name Dilmun was used to designate the entire region from the Persian Gulf to the Gulf of Cambay, where this civilization had spread. Melukha is said to have been the home of certain raw materials such as copper, ivory, stone, timber, or the native habitat of a few plants like *mes melukha* and breeds of animals such as monkey. But we have no reference to the going of boats directly to that land as in the case of Magan and Dilmun. Durrani has very plausibly proposed to equate the name of Melukha with the name Malany, Malaya and Malakka found from South India to South-East Asia.⁵⁶ In the historiographic document 'The Curse of Agade', the Melukhites are called 'the people of the black land', which may apply to South India.⁵⁷ It is likely that there was a coastal trade between South India and the Indus Valley, as there was between the former and South-East Asia from very

52. Farzand Ali Durrani, 'West Pakistan and Persian Gulf in Antiquity', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (June 1964), p. 5.

53. P. B. Cornwall, 'On Location of Dilmun', *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research*, No. 103, p. 5.

54. S. N. Kramer, 'Dilmun, Quest for Paradise', *Antiquity*, XXXVII, No. 146 (June, 1963), pp. 111-15.

55. P. V. Glob and G. Bibby, 'A Forgotten Civilization of the Persian Gulf', *Scientific American*, 203, No. 4 (Oct. 1960).

56. Farzand Ali Durrani, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

57. S. N. Kramer, *History begins at Sumer*, (1961), p. 317.

early times. Many goods, coming from that region, reached the Indus Valley ports and were thence carried to the Persian Gulf and the Middle-East. Thus, it is likely that the coastal region from Makran and Sind to South India saw the rapid development of maritime commerce in ancient times, which knit this part of the world with Western Asia. This region was remembered in Mesopotamian texts under the names of Magan, Dilmun and Melukha. Subsequently, from the middle of the second millennium B.C., when the Indus Valley Civilization declined, and trade with the West advanced, the names of Magan and Melukha were transferred to Egypt and Ethiopia.⁵³ To quote Oppenheim, "when unknown events interrupted the link to the east, the terms Magan and Melukha assumed a mytho-geographic connotation and referred to southernmost ends of the ecumene, to the Egypt ruled at that time by an Ethiopian dynasty; Melukha came to be known as the homeland of people of dark complexion."^{58a}

The nerve-centre of the said trade was Dilmun or the region of the Indus Valley Civilization. A group of merchants formed a community, called *Alik Dilmun*, for carrying on trade with Dilmun and secured its monopoly. These merchants sailed down the Euphrates with their boats, loaded with garments, perfumed oil, leather and wool, bought with the silver shekels, borrowed from the moneylenders, to obtain copper ingots and finished utensils of copper, ivory, beads of precious and semi-precious stones, cosmetics and stone-vessels at Dilmun. On their safe return, they made votive offerings to the temple of the goddess Ningal, which included, besides other objects, ivory, lapis-lazuli, 'fish-eyes' and carnelian beads along with characteristic Indus-type kidney-shaped beads. From India, ivory, shell objects, beads of gemstones and cotton

53. W. F. Leemans, 'The Trade Relations of Babylonia', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, III, (April, 1960), pp. 20-37; M. Lambert, 'Le destin d'Ur et les routes commerciales', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, XXXIX (1964) 69-109.

58a. A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago 1964), p. 64.

or cotton goods went to the Middle-East in large quantities. The bead factory, ivory workshops and shell manufacturing concerns in the bazars of Lothal catered to the demand of these things in western Asia. To meet the need of shell objects, chank-shell from the rocky coast near Porbandar and Jamnagar was processed and other varieties were imported from South India. Dentalium beads and shell inlays, found at many sites in the Tigris-Euphrates valley, came from Lothal and the Indus Valley cities. The extensive textile trade between these parts of Asia is indicated by the discovery at Umma near Lagash of the imprint of an Indus seal from a bale of cloth as well as the impression of a piece of cloth of plain weave on the back of a terracotta sealing from Lothal. Copper ingots were imported in the Indus Valley in return for the aforesaid exports, as is clear from a bun-shaped ingot of similar size and shape discovered at Mohenjodaro and Susa. The copper ingots from Mohenjodaro contain arsenic whereas those from Susa are free from it. This shows that copper was imported from two different sources. That there was a far-flung trade in copper as late as the latter half of the second millennium B.C. is suggested by the shipwreck recovered by the University Museum Expedition near Cape Gelidonya off the Turkish coast. This copper was worked and processed in local workshops, two of which have been identified at Lothal, one at the north end of the town and the other in the centre of the bazar. The commercial intercourse between the merchants of these regions is established by the discovery of seals of Elamite, Tell Brak and Tepe Giyan style at Indus Valley sites and the seals of Indus Valley inspiration at Ur, Kish, Lagash, Tell Asmar, Susa, Diyala, etc., in the Middle-East. There is good reason to assume that Indus traders were settled more or less permanently in several of the Sumerian cities.⁵⁹ S. R. Rao has shown that the Indus traders settled in Bahrein used the circular

59. Farzand Ali Durrani, 'Stone Vases as Evidence of Connection Between Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley', *Ancient Pakistan*, I (1954) 51-96; S.R. Rao 'A Persian Gulf Seal from Lothal', *Antiquity*, XXXVII, No 146 (June, 1963) 96-99.

seals while those living at Ur used the cylindrical ones. The commercial contacts of the Indus people with those of the West are evidenced by a variety of finds including two terracotta figurines of a gorilla and a mummy, respectively, reminiscent of Egypt, a terracotta head of a bearded man with Sumerian features showing relations with Mesopotamia, two copper dogs suggesting comparisons with those from Susa and many seals and other wares discovered at Lothal.^{59a}

The commercial supremacy of Dilmun is manifest from a Sumerian text translated by Kramer as follows :—

- May the land Tukrish transport to you
gold from Harali, lapis-lazuli.
- May the land Melukha (bring) you
tempting (?) precious carnelian,
mes-shagan wood, fine sea-wood, sailors.
- May the land Marhashi (bring) you
precious stone, crystal,
- May the land Magan (bring) you
mighty copper, the strength of.....diorite,
u-stone, *shuman* stone ;
- May the sealand (transport) to you ebony,
the ornament of the king
- May the land Zalangar (transport) to you
wool, good ore,
- May the land Elam (transport) to you.....
wool (heavy) tribute ;
- May the shrine Ur, the dais of kingship,
the.....city (transport) to you
grain, sesame-oil, noble garments,
fine garments,
sailors ;
- May the wide sea (bring) you its
abundance.

59a. S. R. Rao, 'Shipping and the Maritime Trade of the Indus People', *Expedition* 7 (1965) 37.

The city—its dwellings are good dwellings,
 Dilmun—its dwellings are good dwellings,
 Its barley is very small barley,
 Its dates are very large dates,
 Its harvests three—
 Its trees——⁶⁰

This passage gives an interesting picture of international commerce and shows that Dilmun, the region of the Indus Valley Civilization, was its centre. It is, therefore, no wonder that Sumerian capitalists invested their capital free of interest in this trade and eagerly purchased shares of the concerns dealing in it. After a temporary set-back during the Gutian interlude (2220-2125 B.C.), this trade made much headway under the Third Dynasty of Ur (2123-2023 B.C.) and the Larsa Dynasty (2023-1761 B.C.). Under the third dynasty, it was organised by the state, but, in the Larsa period, it passed on to private capitalists.⁶¹

The above discussion clearly shows that the Papis adequately represent the trading people of the Indus cities. But their wealth and affluence was based on the exploitation of the rural areas. Hence they are termed as oppressors (*druh*)⁶² and niggards. Though divided in clans (*viśas*), they had developed a great administrative concentration referred to in the hundred forts of Śambara⁶³ and the ninety towns

60 S. N. Kramer, 'Dilmun: Quest for Paradise', *op. cit.*, p. 113.

61. A. L. Oppenheim, 'Seafaring Merchants of Ur', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 74 (1954) 14.

62. *Rgveda*, VI. 20. 5 :

महो ब्रुहो ऋषे विश्वायुं धायि वज्रस्य यत् पतने पाहि शुष्णे ।

63. *Rgveda*, II. 14. 6 :

अश्वघ्नो यः शतं शम्बरस्य पुरो विभेदाश्वमेव पूर्वीः ।

यो वृच्चिनः शतमिन्द्रः सहस्रमपावद् भरता सोममस्मै ॥

Ibid., I. 130. 7 :

भिनरपुरो नवतिमिन्द्र पूरवे दिवोदासाय महिं दाशुषे नृतो वज्रेण दाशुषे नृतो ।
 अतिथिगवायु शम्बरं गिरिभ्यो अवाभरत् ॥

of Vṛtra. But the regimentation, enforced by them, produced a reaction both in the towns and villages.

14 The lower classes in the Indus cities

The people of the Indus Valley cities constituted a heirarchical society having a class structure. The division of the city into two parts --a citadel in the west and a lower city in the east-- bespeaks a social division of the rulers and the ruled. The fortified citadel encased royal residences, public buildings, granaries, religious constructions and bath ; the lower city, probably unfortified, housed at least two grades of citizenry : the higher one represented by the palatial building 250' from east to west with 3½-7' thick massive battered walls in the southern part of the DK area, and the lower one indicated by the typical residences opening on the lanes in the HR area at Mohenjodaro. Below these classes came shopkeepers, workmen and coolies living in barracks, lined in blocks. The block of barracks, comprising sixteen similar sub-units, arranged back to back in two lines, an eastern and a western, divided, save for the end pair, by an axial passage, at Mohenjodaro,⁶⁴ and the double range of barrack-dwellings, each having an area of 56' × 24' and consisting of two rooms, or a court and a room, with semi-paved floors, near sixteen pear-shaped furnaces, 3' 4" to 6' 2" long, and five rows of 13 circular working platforms, each having wooden mortars for the pounding of grain with pestles, at Harappa,⁶⁵ give evidence of the life of this class of people. This careful structuring of society and patterning of city shows signs of breakdown and disintegration towards the end. At Mohenjodaro people began to encroach on public streets and project their houses on them. Many raised mean structures on the lanes blocked the passage. Some even shifted the kilns within the cities. Almost all divided the houses with partitions into warrens suggesting panic and overcrowding. Even the great brick podium of the granary on the citadel was engulfed in debris interleaved

64. Marshall, *op. cit.* I, p. 204.

65. M. S. Vats *Excavations at Harappa*, I, p. 470.

with small, untidy buildings.⁶⁶ This disturbance of the social equilibrium in the cities was paralleled by an upsurge of disgruntled people in the countryside, on which some Rgvedic hymns throw much light.

15. The unrest of the rural people

The goals of the adversaries of the Panis, according to the *Rgveda*, are kine and corn-fields. Singing of Indra, a poet says :⁶⁷

"Craving the kine, rushing against the mountain led on by law, with holy-minded comrades, he broke the never-broken ridge of Vala. With words of might Indra subdued the Panis."

Another sage implores Indra as follows :⁶⁸

"Give us wealth, Indra, that with might, as heaven o'ertops the earth, o'ercomes our foes in battle, wealth that brings thousands and that wins the corn-lands, wealth, son of strength ! that vanquishes the foeman."

One of the early heroes, Divodāsa, who launches the onslaught against the Panis, is given the significant epithet of *ṛṇa-cyuta*, 'canceller of debts' :

"To Vadhryaśva, when he worships her with gifts, she gave fierce Divodāsa, canceller of debts. Consumer of the churlish niggard, one and all, thine, O Sarasvati, are these effectual boons."⁶⁹

66. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilisation*, p. 97.

67. *Rgveda*, VI. 39. 2 ;

अयमुंशानः पर्यद्विमुञ्जा कृतधीतिभिर्ऋतयुग्मुंजानः ।
रुजदरुणं वि बलस्य सानुं पुनीर्वचोभिरभि योब्रदिन्द्रः ॥

68. *Ibid.*, VI. 20. 1 :

यौनं य इन्द्राभि भूमार्यगुत्स्यौ रुयिः शर्वसा पूत्सु जनान् ।
तं नः सहस्रभरमुर्वरासां द्वि संनो सहसो वृत्रतुरम् ॥

69. *Ibid.*, VI. 61. 1 :

द्वयमवदाद रभसमुणच्युतं दिवोदासं वध्यश्वायं दाशुये ।
या शश्वन्तमाचक्षादोवसं पुनि ता तं द्वात्राणि तविषा सरस्वति ॥

16. The villagers rise against the cities and destroy them.

The epithet *ṛṇa-cyuta* can be interpreted as meaning that Divodāsa released the people from the burden of debts, imposed by the Panis, and redeemed their kine and cornlands, encumbered with them. This shows that the rural people, oppressed by the debts of the greedy usurers of the cities, rose in revolt against them and razed them to the ground. Thus, the Indus cities came to an end as a result of a vast social commotion issuing from the countryside and canalising the discontent of the village people coupled with the unrest of the urban classes. Some of the cities were overrun and others suffered a cultural degeneration. But no new element of appreciable significance was added to the life in them, since the invaders belonged to the same culture-complex and did not represent any other cultural tradition. This is clear from the late phase of the Indus Valley Civilization attested at Rupar, Alamgirpur, Lothal, Rangpur, Rojadi, Amra, Bara, Bhagatrav etc. This phase, though continuing the same tradition, registers a general decadence of civic life, exhibiting an utter lack of planning and perspective, reflected in the location of kilns in the heart of the townships and the neglect of the public drains, characteristic of the Indus cities. Architecture also suffers a setback as houses begin to be built of mud bricks with a very limited use of burnt brick and are covered mostly with thatches. The overall poverty of the people is manifest from clay beads, terracotta bangles, parallel-side blades of jasper, agate and chalcedony and spheroid or elliptical weights of sandstone or quartzite and the scarcity of metal objects. Even the potter's arts show a decline, perforated jars, goblets and beakers become rare, the slip on the pots is commonly thin and their surface is not uniformly treated and the painted motifs on them, mostly geometric and linear designs, are repetitive and not carefully executed.⁷⁰ In some respects pre-Harappan elements come up, as in the incised decoration of Bara ware, which recalls the pre-Harappan Kalibangan ware, and some ware

70. Suraj Bhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-48.

from sub-period II C at Rangpur. Even at Mohenjodaro in the late phases, brought to light by recent excavations, there is a deterioration of cultural standards. Dales notes that the animal figurines from the late levels are of a simple toy-like variety with little or no modelling of the body contours. Facial details are depicted by deep holes and carelessly incised lines. The unnaturally large eyes are usually represented by pierced clay discs applied to the head. These figurines contrast sharply with the beautifully modelled and carefully detailed animal figurines from the excavations at the base of the HR mound ⁷¹ In this period some new inland settlements like Desalpur in Kutch, Rajadi in Central Saurāṣṭra and Kanasutaria and Sujnipur north-east of Lothal cropped up, perhaps, showing an orientation towards land routes in preference to waterways. The first impression, one has, on comparing the Late Harappan culture with its mature Harappan phase, is that rusticity has overpowered refinement and the village has triumphed over the city. Let us see how this development came about.

71. George F. Dales, 'New Investigations at Mohenjodaro,' *Archaeology*, 18 (1965) 147.

CHAPTER V

THE WARS AND CONFLICTS FOLLOWING THE END OF THE INDUS VALLEY CITIES

1 Divodāsa and his antagonists

One of the earliest heroes to take cudgels against the Panis is Divodasa, son of Vadhryasva, a prince of the Trtsu family of the Bharata clan. Hillebrandt¹ and, following him, Bhandarkar² have shown that Divodasa, meaning 'the heavenly Dasa', was himself a Dasa chief. Thus, he seems to have fought with his own kith and kin. This is clear from the fact that on both the sides, we find an alignment of the Āryas and the Dasas. If Divodasa is assisted by the Āryas, his adversaries are also allied to them. If he is blessed by the Bharadvajas, his opponent is led by the wise Dasoni. Thus, we have a spectacle of Ārya fighting with Ārya and Dasa lashing out against Dasa. A Bharadvaja priest, Sunahotra, praising Indra, says

For with loud voice the tribes invoke thee, Indra, to aid them in the battlefield of heroes. Thou, with the singers, hast pierced through the Panis the charger, whom thou aidest, wins the booty.

Both races, Indra, of opposing foemen, O Hero, both the Ārya and the Dasa, hast thou struck down like woods with well shot lightnings thou rentest them in fight, most manly chieftain.³

1 H. Hillebrandt *Vedische Mythologie* I 97 ff.

2 D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, p. 4.

3 *Rgveda* VI 33 2 3.

स्वा हा॑ऽन्द्रावस् विवा॑चो हव॑न्ते च॑र्षण्युः शूर॑सातो ।

स्व वि॑प्रेभि॒र्वि पु॒णो॑र॒शाय॑स्त्वोत॒ इत् स॑र्निता वा॒ज्रम॑वौ ॥

स्वं तौ॑ ऽ द्रो॒भयौ॑ अमि॒त्रान् दा॑सा वृ॒त्रा॒ग्यायौ॑ च शूर ।

च॒धी॒र्वने॑व सु॒धिते॑भि॒रःकै॑रा पु॒ष्टु द॑वि नृ॒णां नृ॑तम ॥

In another hymn the poet Sumitra Vādhryaśva hails Agni as the queller of the hatred both of the Āryas and the Dāsas :

“All treasures hast thou won, of plains and mountains, and quelled the Dāsa's and the Ārya's hatred. Like the bold hero Cyavana, O Agni, mayst thou subdue the men, who long for battle.”⁴

Like Divodāsa, his son Sudās is pitted against both the Dāsas and the Āryas, whom Indra and Varuṇa destroy as his helpers :

“Looking to you and your alliance, O ye Men, armed with broad axes they went forward, fain for spoil. Ye smote and slew his Dāsa and his Āryan enemies, and helped Sudās with favour, Indra-Varuṇa.”⁵

Even Divodāsa, whose title is Atithigva, is said to have been once laid low by Indra himself. The poet Barhaspatya Bhāradvāja says :

“This day the deed, that thou hast done, is famous, when thou, for him, with many thousand others, laidest low Kutsa, Āyu, Atithigva, and boldly didst deliver Tūrvayaṇa.”⁶

4. *RV.* X. 69. 6 :

समज्या पर्वत्या इ वसुनि दासा वृत्राण्यार्यो जिगेथ ।
शूर इव धृष्णुश्च्यवनो जनानां त्वमग्ने पूतनार्यैरभि ध्याः ॥

5. *RV.* VII. 83. 1 :

युवां नरा पश्यमानासु आप्यं प्राचा गव्यन्तः पृथुपर्श्वो ययुः ।
दासा च वृत्रा हतमार्चाणि च सुदासमिन्द्रावरुणावसावतम् ॥

In this passage Ludwig takes the expression ‘pṛithuparśavah’ as meaning the Parthians and the Persians. Should this view be correct it would follow that Sudās was aided by these people. But the whole thing is problematical.

6. *RV.* VI. 18. 13 :

प्र तत् ते अद्या करणे कृतं भूत् कुरुं यदायुर्मतिश्चिग्वमस्मै ।
पुरु सहस्रा नि शिशा अभि क्षामुत त्वर्वाणं धृपता विनेव ॥

Another poet Savya Āngirasa also sings in the same vein as follows

“Thou hast protected Suśravās with succour, and Tūrvayana with thine aid, O Indra Thou madest Kutsa, Atithigva, Āyu, subject unto this King, the young, the mighty”⁷

This Tūrvayana may be connected with the Turvaśa, who are closely associated with the Yadus, as is clear from the expression *Turvaśa Yadu* or *Yadus-Turvaśa*⁸ and the fact that both of them are said to be the recipients of the favour and assistance of Indra⁹. Two passages seem to refer to an attack by Turvaśa and Yadu on Divodasa¹⁰. In *Rgveda* IX 61 2, they are bracketed with Sambara,¹¹ the Dasyu chief holding the hundred forts¹². The Turvaśa were the allies of the Vrcivants¹³, who are said to have been defeated at Hariyūpiya, in which Wheeler sees a reference to Harappa¹⁴. In the beginning these people may have fared well against Divodasa but ultimately they were defeated.

In *Rgveda* VI 61, Divodasa is said to have fought with the Paravatas and Brsayas on the Sarasvati. Hillebrandt identifies them with the Parautai of Ptolemy and the Barsacutus of Arrian and locates them on the Haraqaiti or

7 *Rv*, I 53 10

त्वमाविथ सुभ्रवस् तवोतिभिस्तन् त्रामभिरिन्द्र तूर्वयाणम् ।

त्वमस्मै कुत्समतिध्रुग्वमायु महे राजे यूने भरन्धनायः ॥

8 *Rv* IV 20 17 X 62 10

9 *Rv*, VI 20 12

10 *Rv* VI 45 1 IX 61 2, VII 19 8

11 *Rv* IX 61 2

पुरः सद्य इत्थाभिरे विषोदासाय शम्बरम् । जघ्न त्व तूर्वशं यदुम् ।

12 *Rv*, VI 31 4

त्वं शतान्वय शम्बरस्य पुरो जघन्थाप्रतीनि दस्यो ।

13 *Rv* VI 27 5

वृक्षीदिन्द्रो वरशिखस्य शेषोऽभ्यावृतिर्न चायमानाय शिक्षन् ।

वृक्षीवतो यद्वरियूरीपायां हन् पूर्वे जघ्ने भियसापरो दैव ॥

14 Wheeler *The Dawn of Civilization* p 249

Arghandab in Arachosia. Griffith identifies the Sarasvati, mentioned in this hymn, with the Indus. It may well be that Divodāsa rose in the northern region, won some success there, which aroused other peoples in the east, resulting in his encounter with them. On the side of Divodāsa were chiefs like R̥jīśvan, Āyu and Kutsa, and, on that of his opponents, Cumuri, Dhuni, Śambara, Smadibha, Pipru, Śuṣṇa, Vetasu, Daṣoni and Tugra. R̥jīśvan is said to have stormed the hundred towns of Vangr¹⁵ and destroyed the fifty thousand followers of Pipru and Mṛgaya¹⁶. Āyu is known to have vanquished Veśa.¹⁷ Kutsa is stated to have shattered the forts of Ibiliś¹⁸ and killed Śusna, 'the foe of harvest'¹⁹. Divodāsa is credited with the conquest of the hundred stone citadels of Śambara²⁰ and killed him with thousands of his followers after an endeavour of forty years.²¹

2. Sudās and his wars

Divodāsa's son Sudās was a famous king of the R̥gvedic age. At first he had Viśvāmītra for his priest. Under his guidance he won a significant victory against Pramangad, king of Kikaṭa, called Naicaśākha, which Yāska interprets as 'usurer'²² and therefore 'mean'.²³ One success followed another. As the poet said :

"When Viśvāmītra was Sudās's escort, then Indra through the Kuśikas grew friendly."²⁴

15. *Rv.*, I. 53. 8.

16. *Rv.*, IV. 16. 13.

17. *Rv.*, X. 49. 5.

18. *Rv.*, I. 33. 12.

19. *Rv.*, IV. 16. 12.

20. *Rv.*, II. 14. 7, IV. 30. 20.

21. *Rv.*, VI. 26. 5, II. 12. 11.

22. *Nirukta*, VI. 32.

23. *Rv.*, III. 53. 14.

किं ते कृण्वन्ति कीकटेषु गाक्षो नाशिरं दुहे न तपन्ति घर्मम् ।
आ नो भरु प्रमंगन्दस्य वेदो नैचाशाखं मघवन् रन्धया नः ॥

24. *Rv.*, III. 53. 9 ;

विश्वामित्रो यदवदत् सुदासमभिधायत कुशिकेभिरिन्द्रः ।

Consequently Sudās launched on an imperial career conquering in all quarters. His priest exhorted his followers as follows :

“Come forward, Kuśtkas, and be attentive; let loose Sudās’s horse to win him riches. East, west and north, let the king slay the foemen, then at earth’s choicest place perform his worship.”²⁵

3. The enemies of Sudās

But this expansion brought him into conflict with other chiefs and kings. We hear of two confederacies against him : the alignment of the Ajas, Śigrus and Yakṣus under the leadership of Bheda on the Yamunā and the rally of the Yadus-Turvaśas, Bhṛguś, Druhyus, Pakthas, Bhalāpas, Alinas, Śivas, Viśāṇins, Purus, and Anus under the guidance of Simyu, Purodās, Purukutsa, Kavaśa, etc. on the Paruṣṇī. In that emergency Viśvāmitra and his family also deserted him and went over to his enemies. But, undaunted by these difficulties, he appointed Vāśiṣṭha as his priest and successfully encountered the opposition of his antagonists both on the Yamunā and on the Paruṣṇī.

The enemies of Sudās appear to be his own kith and kin. The poet speaks of his adversaries on the Yamunā as follows :

“Yamunā and the Tṛtsus aided Indra. Then he stripped Bheda bare of all his treasures. The Ajas and the Śigrus and the Yakṣus brought in to him as tribute heads of horses.”²⁶

Among these peoples the Yakṣus may be equated with the Akhaioi, known to the Greek poet Homer, or

25. *Rv.*, III. 53. 11 :

उप मेत कुशिकाश्चेतयध्वमर्ध्वं राघे प्र मुञ्चता सुदासः ।
राजा वृत्रं जङ्घन् प्रागपागुदगथा यजाते वर आ पृथिव्याः ॥

26. *Rv.*, VII. 18. 19 :

आवदिन्द्रं यमुना वृत्सवश्च पात्रं मेदं सर्वताता मुषावत् ।
अजासंश्च शिम्वो यक्षवश्च बलिं शीर्षाणि जभूरश्वाणि ॥

the Akavaśa, who invaded Egypt under Ramses II. Later on, they seem to have been known as Okkāka and Ikṣvāku.

4. The Yadus and Turvaśas

As regards the other adversaries of Sudās, most of them represent ancient Indo-Iranian peoples. In *Rgveda*, VIII. 6. 46, the Yādavas are mentioned with the Parśus, who, in all probability, stand for the people called Parthava or Parśava. Elsewhere they are bracketed with the Turvaśa, who are probably the same as the Tūrā, who are mentioned with the Ariyā, Sairimā, Sainavā, and Dahā in the Avesta. They are counted among the Iranian people of the Central Asian steppes, who gave Zarathustra a good reception.²⁷ A section of them accompanied the Sarmatians in their westward migration north of the Caspian Sea and another mounted the Iranian plateau and then moved south-east, for, in the Abbasid period, a district in eastern Baluchistan in the neighbourhood of the modern Khanate of Qalat, bore the name of Turan.²⁸ In the present century a community of Turis lived near the Suleiman Mountains in the upper valley of the Kurram river, immediately to the south of the Kabul Valley. These Turis are said to be pastoral nomads, who migrate twice a year between the summer pastures in the Kurram Valley and the winter pastures round Qalabagh on the west bank of the Indus north of the Salt Range.²⁹

5. The Pūrus and Purukutsa

The Pūrus bear a name of Indo-Iranian origin, which connotes the idea of abundance and multitudinousness. It occurs in the Avesta as *pouru* and in the inscriptions of the Achaemenian emperors as *paru* in this sense. In a passage of the *Rgveda* Sāyana interprets the expression *puru* to mean 'many' and Griffith follows him in his translation :

27. H.S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, pp. 237, 249-51.

28. G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 331-32.

29. T.L. Pennell, *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier*, pp. 55-56.

"Of many families, who duly serve the Gods, yea, him, whom others also praise."³⁰

Yāska interprets Pūru as 'man'.³¹ In a hymn the Pūrus are described as lauding Indra with their sacrifices :

"May we, O Indra, gain by thy new favour : so Pūrus laud thee, with their sacrifices."³²

In another hymn Pūru is said to be the recipient of the special favour of Agni :

"When, glowing, O Vaiśvānara, for Pūru, thou, Agni, didst light up and rend their castles."³³

Their leader Purukutsa is the hero of hymns. For instance, the poet sings in I. 174, 2 :

"Indra, thou humbledst tribes, that spake with insult, by breaking down seven autumn forts, their refuge. Thou stirredst, Blameless : billowy floods and gavest his foe a prey to youthful Purukutsa."³⁴

Again in VI. 20. 10, Indra is stated to have assisted Purukutsa in his wars with the Dāsas ;

"Thou hast wrecked seven autumn forts, their shelter, slain Dāsa tribes and aided Purukutsa,"³⁵

30. *Rgveda.*, I. 36. 1 :

प्र वो यद्धं पुरुणां विशां देवयतीनाम् ।
अग्निं सूक्तेभिर्वचोःभरीमहे यं सोमिदुन्य ईळते ॥

31. *Nirukta*, VII. 23 ; *Nighaṇṭu*, II. 3.

32. *Rgveda*. VI. 20. 10 :

सुनेम तेऽवसा नव्यं इन्द्र प्र पूरवः स्वन्त एना युजैः ।

33. *Ibid.*, VII. 5. 3 :

वैश्वानर पूरवे शोऽञ्चानः पुरो यदग्ने दुरयन्नीदेः ।

34. *Ibid.*, I. 174. 2 :

दुनो विशः इन्द्र मूधवाचः सुस यत् पुरः शर्म शारदीर्दत् ।
अगोरपो भनवद्यार्णा यूने वृत्रं पुरुकृत्साय रन्धीः ।

35. *Ibid.*, VI. 20. 10 .

सुस यत् पुरः शर्म शारदीर्दत्तं दासीः पुरुकृत्साय शिश्वं ।

In this verse Ludwig suggests the reading *saudāsīh* for *dasīh* and takes it to refer to the forts of Sudās, but Oldenberg, Macdonell and Keith object to this view.

In I. 63. 7, Indra is said to be fighting for Purukutsa and bringing gain to him:

“Warring for Purukutsa, thou, O Indra, Thunder-armed! brakest down the seven castles, easily, for Sudās, like grass didst rend them, and out of need, king, broughtst gain to Pūru.”³⁶

In I. 112. 7, the Aśvins are said to have guarded him:

“Wherewith ye guarded Purukutsa Prṣingu—come hither unto us, O Aśvins, with those aids.”³⁷

These references make it clear that Purukutsa was as much a favourite of the gods as Sudās and that in the beginning he scored some significant successes in the encounters with his enemies and thus ranked as a great chief of his time.

6. The Pakthas

Another tribe ranged against Sudās is Paktha. In three passages of the *Rgveda*, (VIII. 22. 10; VIII. 49. 10; X. 61. 1), a Paktha is mentioned as a protégé of the Aśvins. In X. 61. 1, a Paktha chief is given the name Tūrvayāṇa,³⁸ which may suggest a connection between the Pakthas and

36. *Rgveda*, I. 63. 7.

त्वं ह स्यदिन्द्र सप्त युध्यन् पुरो वज्रिन् पुरुकृत्साय ददः ।

वर्हिन् यत् सुशसे वृथा वगंहो राजन् वरिवः पुरवे कः ॥

37. *Ibid.*, I. 112. 7.

याभिः पृदिनगुं पुरुकुत्सुमावत् तामिऊषु कृत्तिभिरेडिना गतम् ।

38. *Ibid.*, X. 61. 1.2.

इदमित्था रौद्रे गूर्तवचा अक्ष क्त्वा शच्यामन्तराजौ ।

क्राणा यदस्य पितरा मंहनेष्टाः पथैत् पृथे बहुन्ना सप्त होतृन् ॥

स इद्वानाय दभ्याय वन्वच्चयवानः सूदैरमिमीत् वेदिम् ।

तूर्वगाणो गूर्तवचस्तमः क्षोदो न रेत इत ऊति सिञ्चत् ॥

Turas or Turvaśas.³⁹ The Pakthas are the North-East Iranian people, known as Afghans, who call themselves Pakthāna, Pashtāna, Pathān, plural forms of the singular words 'Pakhtūn' and 'Pashtūn', in the divers dialects of their language. Herodotus calls them Paktyēs and locates them in the fourteenth taxation district of his gazetteer of the Achaemenian empire, where the Bisutun inscription places the Harahvatiyā (Harauvatiyā) or the people of the valley of the Harahvatiś known as Arakhosia or Arachosia. Another name, given to them by the Greek historian, is 'Thamanaioi,' probably derived from some word like the Persian 'dāman', meaning the skirt of a garment, and, by analogy a 'borderland' or 'march', a name still borne by the region between the Salt Range, the Solmauny Mountains, the Indus and Sungur in Upper Sind.⁴⁰ The Paktyēs are also found in Anatolia. Herodotus groups them with the Armenioi in the thirteenth taxation district of the Achaemenian empire. Some place-names and personal names in Anatolia also throw light on the establishment of these people in that region. A town at the neck of the Gallipoli Peninsula bore the name Paktyē before the end of the sixth century B.C.,⁴¹ a mountain near Ephesus was called Paktyēs by Strabo,⁴² a Lydian, whom Cyrus put in charge of Croesus's captured treasure and who took that opportunity to place himself at the head of a Lydian insurrection against Achaemenian rule, was known as Paktyēs in the History of Herodotus.⁴³ Toynbee suggests that the plural form of 'Paktu' was 'Paktuk', which lives in the Hellenized form 'Paktyikē', and that the word 'Katpatuka', occurring in the inscriptions of the Achaemenians as the name of Cappadochia, signifies the 'Paktyēs domiciled in Khatti'.⁴⁴ Thus, we observe that the Pakthas were a

39. Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, I, pp. 71-77.

40. M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, Vol. II, p. 55.

41. *History of Herodotus*, VI. 36.

42. Strabo, *Geography*, (Tr. Hamilton and Falconer), XIV. 1. 13.

43. Herodotus, *Op. cit.*, I, 153-6.

44. Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Vol. VII, p. 610.

wide-spread Indo-Iranian people living from Anatolia to the Harahvatiś Valley

7. The Druhyus, Bhrgus, Alinas, Bhalāṇas, Śivas and Viṣāṇas

The Druhyus are mentioned with the Pūrus⁴⁵ and the Yadus, Anus and Turvasas⁴⁶. Later traditions associate them with Gandhara⁴⁷. Mentioned with them are the Bhrgus, whom Kuhn and Carnoy equate with the Greek Phlegyai and whose name may suggest their affinity with the Phrygians⁴⁸. As for other peoples, ranged against Sudas, the Alinas may stand for the later Alains or Sarmatians. They have been located to the north-east of Kafiristan by Zimmer⁴⁹. The Bhalanas lived in East Kabulistan, giving their name to the Bolan pass, as suggested by the said scholar⁵⁰. The Śivas are the Siboi of the Greek writers, whose town Sivapura mentioned by Patañjali (on *Pāṇinīsūtra* IV 2 2), is identical with Sivapura, referred to in a Shorkot inscription, which shows that they inhabited this region in Jhang between the Iravati and the Candrabhaga⁵¹. We find Sibī as the name of an important station on the route from Sukkar to Quetta midway between the Bolan pass and the Harnai Pass. The name of Siwistan, modern Schwan, in Sind known in mediaeval history, is also derived from the locality of the Śivas. Thus Sibī in Baluchistan, Schwan in Sind and Sivapura in Jhang enclose a triangular tract of land associated with the name of the Śivas⁵². Subsequently,

45 *Rigveda* VI 46 8

46 *Ibid.* I 108 8

47 Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* p 140

48 Kuhn *He abkunft des Feuers* pp 21 22 Carnoy *Les Indo Européens* p 207

49 Zimmer *Altindisches Leben* p 431

50 *Ibid.* p 431

51 Cunningham *An ancient Geography of India* p 669 B C Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India* p 126

52 Ahmad Hasan Dani Sibī—A Forgotten People of Sind *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan* Vol IX No 1 (June, 1964), pp 13-17

they migrated to Rājasthāna and settled near Chittor, where their coins, bearing the legend *Majumikāya Sibi Janapadasa*, have been found. The tribe, named Viśāṇin, probably got this name by reason of wearing a horned headdress or pointed helmet.⁵³ We have seen in an earlier part of this study that the aristocratic class of the Indus Valley people was accustomed to wear a headdress of horns, as is clear from the numerous representations of deities on seals. Even in *R̥veda* I 33 12 Susna is called Srngin or horned and in VII 99 4, a Dasa chief is described as *vr̥sasipra*. In the *Harivam apurana* (*Viṣṇuparvan* 65 15-20) we come across a reference to a tribe called Srngala and, in the *Mahabharata* (II 47 25), we find the name of a people Srngin. The Greeks and the Persians also used to wear the headdress of horns as a mark of social status and divine attributes. One section of the Śakas living on the northern section of the Jaxartes, around and downstream from Tashkent are called *Tigrakhauda* in the Achaemenian inscriptions in view of the pointed hoods worn by them. On the Behistun (Bisutun) relief of Darius their chief Skunkha is shown as wearing this type of headdress. They were the neighbours of the Soma drinking Sakas, called the *Saka Haumavarga*, located in Farghanah. Toynbee thinks that the mediaeval and modern western hood was ultimately derived from the headdress of these Sakas.⁵⁴ Thus, it is clear that the practice of wearing a horned or pointed headdress, which underlies the name of the tribe Viśāṇin shows its Iranian origin.

8 The Battle of Ten Kings and the victory of Sudās

The upshot of the above discussion is that the antagonists of Sudās were Indo Iranian peoples. They tried to foil the ambition of that Trtsu prince and formed a confederacy against him on the Parusni. We have seen that under Visvamitra he led victorious raids over the Vipāś (Beas) and Sutudri (Sutlej).⁵⁵ When he was in that

53 Macdonell and Keith *Vedic Index*, II p 313

54 A J Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Vol X p 46

55. *R̥veda* III 53 9 11

region, the ten confederates rallied against him on the Paruṣṇī, and the Yaksus, Sigrus and Ajas lashed out at him on the Yamuna. It was perhaps, the rainy season, when the rivers were in spate and difficult to cross. But, somehow, under the energetic guidance of Vasiṣṭha, Sudas succeeded in negotiating them, and the poet sang

‘What, though the floods spread widely Indra made them shallow and easy for Sudas to traverse’⁵⁶

The confederates quickly tried to pounce on Sudas and attempted to make the Ravi fordable by digging channels and diverting the water through them. But this device fell through as the swollen current of the river inundated their own camp and spread destruction in it.⁵⁷ This turned the difficulty of Sudas into an opportunity. He rushed to demolish all the strong places and wrest the seven castles of his adversaries.⁵⁸ Purukutsa the leader of the ten confederate people, was defeated and reduced to great straits. Perhaps he was taken captive. In that dark hour, his wife Purukutsanī gave birth to a son, named Trasadasva who retrieved the disaster of his family.

Our fathers then were these, the seven Rsis, what time the son of Durgaha was captive. For her, they gained by sacrifice Trasadasyu, a demigod, like Indra, conquering foemen

56 *Ibid* VII 18 5

अर्णोसि चित् पप्रथाना सुदास इन्द्रो गाधान्यकृणोत् सुपारा ।

57 *Ibid* VII 18 8 9

दराभ्योऽर्णिमिन्नि स्वेवयवन्तोऽवेतसो वि जग्मुश्चे परुष्णिम् ।

इयुरथै न न्यथं परुष्णीमाशुश्चनेदभिपित्वं जगाम ।

सुदास इन्द्र सुतुर्कः अमित्रानरन्धयन्मानुषे बध्निवाच ।

58 *Ibid* VII 18 13

वि सुद्यो विद्वा इहितान्येषामिन्द्र पुर सहसा सुत इदं ।

श्वानवस्य तृत्सवे गर्भं भ्राज्येत्तं पूरुं विदथे मूध्रवाचम् ॥

The spouse of Purukutsa gave oblations to you, O Indra-Varuṇa, with homage. Then unto her ye gave King Trasadasyu, the demi-god, the slayer of the foemen."⁵⁹

This victory converted the status of Sudās into paramountcy. From a very miserable condition, he emerged into an imperial position. Verily the poet sang ;

"E'en with the weak he wrought this matchless exploit, e'en with goat he did to death a lion. He pared the pillar's angles with a needle. Thus, to Sudās, Indra gave all provisions."⁶⁰

The *Aitareya Brahmana* (VII. 34. 9), remembers him as a great king and the *Śaṅkhayana Śrauta Sutra* (XVI. 11. 14) is all praise for his generosity. But a new power was growing and going to eclipse him and his dynasty. It was Trasadasyu.

9. The rise of Trasadasyu and the fall of Sudās

We have seen above that Trasadasyu was born to Purukutsa when he was either imprisoned or killed by Sudās. The Bhrgus rescued and brought up the young prince with great care. When he came of age, he became the head and front of all those elements, who were disgruntled by the rise of Sudās. With his matchless bravery, irresistible drive and remarkable leadership, he organised them and made short shrift of his enemies. The Vedic poets are all praise for his impetuous and relentless blows on the enemy. Says the poet Vāmadeva Gautama :

59. *Ibid.*, IV. 42. 89 :

अस्माकन्त्रं पितरस्त आसन् त्सु ऋषयो दीर्गहे वध्यमाने ।
त आर्यजन्त त्रसदस्युमस्या इन्द्रं न वृत्रतुरमर्षदेवम् ॥
पुरुकुत्सानी हि वामदाशदध्योभिरिन्द्रावरुणा नमोभिः ।
अथा राजानं त्रसदस्युमस्या वृत्रहर्षं वदधुरर्षदेवम् ॥

60. *Ibid.*, VII. 18. 17 :

आग्नेण चित् तद्वेकं अकार सिद्धं चित् पेश्वेना जघाम ।
अबं ऋक्षीर्वेद्यावृत्रचदिन्द्रः प्रायश्चुद् विश्वा भोजना सुदासे ॥

"Whom, as 'twere down a precipice, swift rushing, each Pūru praises and his heart rejoices, springing forth like a hero, fain for battle, whirling the car and flying like the tempest

Loudly the folk cry after him in battles, as 'twere a thief, who steals away a garment, Speeding the glory, or a herd of cattle, even as a hungry falcon swooping downward

And at his thunder, like the roar of heaven, those, who attack, tremble and are affrighted, for, when he fights against embattled thousands, dread is he in his striving, none may stay him"⁶¹

With his might and vigour Trasadasyu succeeded in rehabilitating the lost glory and prosperity of the Pūrus

"From you two came the gifts in days aforetime, which Trasadasyu granted to the Pūrus. Ye gave the winner of our fields and ploughlands, and the strong smiter, who subdued the Dasyus"⁶²

He shattered and captured the forts and advanced on the Sarasvatī trampling underfoot the kingdom of Sudas or his successors

'When, in the fulness of their strength, the Pūrus dwell, Beauteous one, on thy two grassy banks, favour us thou, who

61 *Rgveda* IV 38 3 5 8

ये सीमन्तु प्रवर्तेव द्रवन्ते विश्व पुरुषं दत्ति हर्षमाणः ।
 पृथग्भिर्गृध्यन्त मेधयु न शूरं रथतुर वातमिव ध्रजन्तम् ॥
 उत स्मै न वस्त्रमधि न तायुमनु क्रोशन्ति क्षितयो भेषु ।
 नीचार्यमान जसुरि न श्येन श्रवश्चारुका पशुमश्च यूथम् ॥
 उत स्मास्य तन्युतोरिव द्योः श्लैघायतो बभ्रियुजो भयन्ते ।
 यदा सहस्रमभि पीमयोधीद् दुर्वन्तु स्मा भवति भीम ऋजन् ॥

62 *Ibid* IV 38 1

उतो हि वा दात्रा सन्ति पूर्वां वा पुरुषस्त्रसदस्युनितोशे ।
 क्षेत्रासां ददथुस्वरासां घ्न दस्युभ्यो अभिभूतिमुग्रम् ॥

hast the Maruts for thy friends stir up the bounty of our chiefs⁶³

10 The Pūrus become prominent antagonised

The rise of the Pūrus under Trasadasyu coincided with a crisis in the realm of Sudas. The *Jaṃiniya Brāhmaṇa*, (II 390), informs us that the descendants of Sudās cast Vasiṣṭha's son Sakti into the fire. This naturally antagonised the Vasiṣṭhas, who determined to avenge themselves on the Saudasas⁶⁴. Thus, the support and guidance of the Vasiṣṭhas which meant so much success for Sudas, was gone. This obviously facilitated the task of the Pūrus and Trasadasyu.

With the liquidation of the Trtsus and their people, the Bharatas, the Pūrus came into prominence. The son of Trasadasyu, Hiranin, and his other descendants, Trkṣi Tryaruna and Kurusravana, ranked as notable kings. But new agglomerations of tribes and clans pushed out the Pūrus. They are known as the Pañcalas and the Kurus. The Pañcalas represented a grouping of Krivi, Turvaśa, Sṛnjaya, Somaka and Kesiṇ as shown by H. C. Raychaudhury⁶⁵.

11 The Pañcalas eclipse the Pūrus

The Krivis appear in the *Rgveda* as settled on the Sindhu and the Asikni. Kasten Ronnow has shown that they were an indigenous serpent-worshipping people of the Indo Iranian borderlands⁶⁶. The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, (XIII 5 4 7), states that they represented the older name of the Pañcalas. The name of the king Kraivya Pañcala, points to this fact.

63 *Ibid* VII 96 2

उभ यत् ते महिना शुभ्रे अग्धंसी अविक्षियन्ति पूरुवं ।
सा नो बोध्यवित्री मरुतमखा चोदु राधो मघोनाम् ॥

64 *Taittirīya Samhitā* VII 4 7 1 *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, IV 8
Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa IV 7 3

65 H. C. Raychaudhury *Political History of Ancient India* (5th ed.) p 71

66 Kasten Ronnow 'Vedic Krivi' *Acta Orientalia*, Vol XVI, p. 160 80

The Turvaṣas have been discussed above. They are bracketed with the Yadus, a tribe associated with the Parśus. Zimmer identifies them with the Vṛcivants, who sustained a defeat at Hariyūpiyā at the hands of the Pārthava prince Abhyavartin Cāyamāna. Macdonell and Keith do not agree with this view but admit that the Turvaṣas were the allies of the Vṛcivants. The Turvaṣas and the Yadus, also, seem to have attacked Divodāsa and later fought with Sudās in association with the Pūrus and others. But they succeeded in making good their escape from the disastrous battle of the Paruṣni. Subsequently, in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, (XIII. 5. 4. 16) they appear as the allies of the pañcālas and seem to have merged among them. That they were eminent warriors is clear from the reference to their numerous horses and about six thousand armed men.

The Sṛñjayas are mentioned in the *Rgveda* as the allies of the Trtsus or Bharatas and the enemies of the Turvaṣas. In VI. 47. 22-25, the Sṛñjaya chief Prastoka is praised with Divodāsa. In VI. 27. 7, the Sṛñjaya prince Darvavāta is said to have defeated the Turvaṣas just when Abhyavartin Cāyamāna vanquished the Vrcivants. In the *Mahabhārata*, they are shown to be led by a prince named Pārthava. They are manifestly the same as the Saraṅgai of Herodotus, Zranka of the Achaemenian inscriptions, Sir-re-an-ke of Elamite records, Saraggoi of Arrian and Draggianē of Strabo, whose name was borne by the region called Seistan in later time. In the Achaemenian inscriptions they are mentioned as Pārthava-Zrāka-Haraiva. First they were grouped with Pārthava and then joined with Harahvatiś.

The Somakas are associated with the Sṛñjayas. In *Rgveda* IV 15. 7-10, we come across the name of Somaka Sāhadevya as the king of the Sṛñjayas. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 34. 9), he and his father, Sahadeva Sārñjaya, are said to have been anointed by the priests Parvata and Nārada. The word *somaka* is akin to *haumavargā*, which means 'hauma (soma) drinking' or 'hauma (soma) pressing'. In a note on this word, R. G. Kent observes :

"The *hauma*, of course, is identical etymologically with sanskrit *soma*, and the *Avesta* and the *Rgveda* agree as

to its use. In the *Avesta*, it is the name of a plant, which may have been of the milkweed type, and of the juice, which was pressed out from it, the juice then being allowed to ferment and develop intoxicating properties, after which it was used as a drink by the priests or, perhaps, by other persons also. There is no identified Indo-European root, from which *varga* can come. The resemblance to Greek *fergon* is unfortunately misleading, since that goes back to a *werg* with a palatal 'g' that gives Iranian 'z', as in Avestan *varez*, and old Persian 'd', as in *Arta-vard-īya*. The *werg* in *haumavarga* must have had a velar or labiovelar 'g' at an earlier stage. The 'hauma' being a liquid, this *varga* may mean 'pressing out', or preparing' or 'using' or 'consuming' the last word covering 'eating and drinking'. If Greek *Aspourgianoī* represents the Iranian *Aspavargā*, the latter need not mean 'horse-eaters', but might be 'kumiz-drinkers' i.e., drinkers of fermented mare's milk. Then we could re-establish 'hauma-drinking' for *haumavargā*.⁶⁷

Haumavarga is the epithet of a Śāka tribe, called Amyrgioi by Greek writers, and located on the Oxus in Ferghanah in Achaemenian times. But in early time many Indo-Iranian tribes deserved this title in view of their soma-drinking habit. The Sṛñjayas and their allies may have been particularly notable for this practice.

The Keśins are not mentioned in the *Rgveda* but figure in later works. In the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XI. 8. 4. 6) they are mentioned as a people and their king is shown as learning from Khaṇḍika the atonement for a bad omen at the sacrifice. This text and the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* (III. 29. I) mention a king Keśin Dār̥bhya or Dāl̥bhya. His people were the Pañcālas. He was a contemporary of the sage Keśin Sātyakāmi, mentioned in the *Maitrayaṇī* (I. 6. 5), and *Taittirīya* (II. 6. 2. 3.) *Samhitās*. He is said to have had a dispute about a ritual with a teacher named Śaṇḍika. The *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 10. 8) attributes to him a *saman*. About Keśin, D. R. Bhandarkar observes as follows :

67. Cited in Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Vol. VII, p. 537.

"In many passages of the *Rgveda*, *Keśin* horses are mentioned, where the word is taken every time in the sense of 'possessed of a mane'. This is meaningless and tautologous, because every horse is possessed of a mane. Besides, in some texts, the word *keśin* occurs by itself, e.g., in *Rgveda*, III. 41. 9, where also it obviously signifies a horse. Just as Sindhu was originally noted for horses, which were, therefore, called *saindhava*, the *Keśin* country may similarly have been the habitat of an equine species, for which reason they were called *Keśins*. It may be further pointed out that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* speaks of a people called *Keśins*... Evidently these *Keśins* seem to be the descendants of the Kassī or Kassites settled in India at the time of the *Rgveda*."⁶⁸

The Kassites, called Kashshu by the Babylonians, Kassī by the Assyrians and Kossaioi by Classical writers, inhabited that part of the central range of the Zagros mountains, which is now known as Luristan. They are first mentioned in the Elamite texts of the late third millennium B.C. In the second millennium B.C. they penetrated into Babylonia and established the second Babylonian dynasty which ruled for 576 years. The first Kassite kings ruled in Babylonia simultaneously with the last kings of the first Babylonian dynasty. The Kassite kings were of Indo-European stock, unlike their subjects, who were of Asianic origin. Bědrich Hrozný treats them as people of Caspian stock.⁶⁹ The names of their deities recall Indo-European gods, e.g., *Buriash*=Greek *Boreas*, *Shuriash*=Indian *Sūrya*. Under them the horse became popular in Babylonia and was regarded as a divine symbol.

Thus, we have observed that the new grouping of the Pañcālas contained a variety of Indo-Iranian tribes, the Sṛñjayas and Somakas, which were friendly with the Tṛtsus, the Turvaśas, who were hostile to them and friendly with the Pūrus, and the Krivis and Keśins, who were relatively unimportant in the age of the *Rgveda*. The Pañcālas drove away the Pūrus, who, after the wars and

68. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, p. 3.

69. B. Hrozný, *Histoire de l'Asie Antérieure*, p. 128-29.

conquests of Trasadasyu, became paramount in the Panjab. A tradition, recorded in the Mahābhārata, relates how the Pañcālas defeated the Paurava king Samvaraṇa and forced him to retreat with his family and attendants to the bank of the Sindhu, where he made Vasiṣṭha his purohita and under his guidance set out to recover his kingdom.⁷⁰

12. The Kurus in the ascendant

In the aforesaid period, the Pūrus and the Bharatas had mixed with one another. Then a new element appeared and gave their history a new turn. It was the Kurus.

The Kurus, as a people, are not mentioned in the *Rgveda*. In VIII. 3. 2.12, there is a reference to Pākasthāman Kaurayāṇa, a generous donor. His patronymic shows that his father was Kuruyāṇa. In X. 32. 9, we find a mention of Kuruśravaṇa Trāsadasya, son of Mitrātithi and father of Upamaśravas. X. 33.4 shows that he was dead by the time the hymn was composed. In X. 98. 5-7 there is a reference to Ārṣṭiseṇa Devāpi and Śantanu, whom the āitiḥāsikas, according to Yāska, identified with two Kauravya princes. Though these notices prove that the name Kuru was known to the composer of some hymns of the *Rgveda*, the fact that the tribe of the Kurus or the land called Kurukṣetra is conspicuous

70. *Mahābhārata*, (Crit. Edn., Poona), 1.89. 31-41

आर्क्षे संवरणे राजन् प्रशासति वसुन्धराम् ।

संक्षयः सुमहानासीत् प्रजानामिति शुश्रुमः ॥

अभ्ययात्तं च पाञ्चाल्यो विजित्य तरसा महीम् ।

अक्षौहिणीभिर्दशभिः स पुनं समरेऽजयन् ॥

राजा संवरणस्तस्मात् पलायत महाभयात् ।

सिन्धोर्नदस्य महति निकुञ्जे न्यवसत्तदा ॥

अधाम्यगच्छद्भरतान् वसिष्ठो भगवानृषिः ।

तमागतम् प्रयत्नेन प्रत्युद्गम्याभिवाद्य च ॥

पुरोहितो भवानोऽस्तु राज्याय प्रयतामहे ।

कोमित्येव वसिष्ठोऽपि भरतान् प्रत्यपश्य ॥

अधाम्यर्षिचत् साम्राज्ये सर्वक्षत्रस्य पौरवम् ।

by absence in it indicates that it did not play any important part in that age. In the Rgvedic period, in the territory of the Dṛṣadvati, Sarasvati and Apaya, later known as Kurukṣetra, on account of the association of the Kurus, the Bharata kings are said to have kindled the sacred fire.⁷¹ In the Āpri hymns Sarasvati is mentioned with Bharati, the glory of the Bharatas. In the *Vājasneyi Samhitā* the Bharatas appear in the place of the Kuru-Pañcalas.⁷² But in the *Atharvaveda* and the Brahmana texts, the Kurus become very prominent and are usually associated with the Pañcalas.⁷³ They are said to be in occupation of the territory, through which the rivers Dṛsadvati, Sarasvati and Apaya flowed, and which, consequently, came to be known as Kurukṣetra.⁷⁴ It was the home of later Vedic culture: its speech was best and purest and its mode of sacrifice was ideal and perfect.⁷⁵

Besides the Kurus, there are references to the Uttarakurus in Brahmana literature.⁷⁶ In the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII 14), it is stated that the people, living beyond the snowy regions, like the Uttarakurus anoint their kings for *Vairāja*, who, as a result, are called *Virāṭs*. At another place in the same text (VIII 23) Vasistha Satyahavya is stated to have anointed Janamtapi Atyarati, according to the ritual of Aindra Mahabhīṣeka, who, in consequence, went over the whole earth and conquered it upto the oceans. Thereupon Vasistha Satyahavya demanded his fees. Atyarati replied that when he would conquer the Uttarakurus, he would confer the whole empire on him and himself become

71 *Rgveda* III 23

72 *Vājasneyi Samhitā* XI 3 3

73 *Atharvaveda* XX 127 7

74 *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* III 7 6 VIII 7

Kaṣṭhaki Upaniṣad IV 1 *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* I 2 9

Kaṭhaka Samhitā X 6

75 *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* XXV 10 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* IV 1 5 1 *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* VII 30

76 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* III 2 3 15 *Sāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra* XV 3 15 *Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra* VIII, 11 18

a commander of his army Satyahavya retorted that the country of the Uttarakurus was the land of gods, which nobody could conquer, and, since he had deceived him, he would snatch everything from him. As a result, Atyarāti lost his prowess and Suṣmīn, son of Śaibya, killed him.

13 The Uttarakurus

In the *Mahabharata*, the name Uttarakuru is used in contradistinction to Dakṣiṇakuru.⁷⁷ The distances between their countries can be measured from the marches of Arjuna described in the *Sabhāparvan*. After crossing the White Mountain (*Śvetapārvata*), he marched through Kimpuruṣavarṣa and reached the Manasarovara lake in the country of the Haṭakas dominated by the Gandharvas.⁷⁸ From there he entered into the region, called Harivarṣa, beyond which lay the land of the Uttarakurus. Elsewhere, in the Epic, the region to the north of India, corresponding to Svetapārvata and Kimpuruṣavarṣa, is called Haimavata, and the site of the Manasarovara lake is indicated by the mountain Hemakūṭa, beyond which is said to be Harivarṣa.⁷⁹ The Kailasa range, running parallel to the Ladakh Range, 50 miles behind it, is thus, the dividing line between Haimavata and Harivarṣa. Beyond Harivarṣa, including the territories of Tibet, lay the idyllic and utopian land of the Kurus, called Uttarakuru. This was the land of mystery and solitude, where nothing familiar could be seen⁸⁰ and it was useless

77 *Mahabharata* I 102 10

उत्तरैः कुहभिः सार्धं दक्षिणाः कुरवस्तथा ।

78 *Ibid* II 25 5

सरो मानसमासाद्य हाटकानभिः प्रभुः ।

गन्धर्वैरक्षितः देशः व्यजयत्पाण्डवस्ततः ॥

79 *Ibid* VI 7 6

इदं तु भारतः वर्षं ततोऽहमेवतः परम् ।

हेमकुटात्परं चैव हरिवर्षं प्रचक्षते ॥

80 *Ibid* II 25 12

प्रविष्टश्चापि कौन्तेय नेह ब्रह्मसिः किञ्चन ।

न हि मानुषदेहेन शक्यमत्राभिवीक्षितुम् ॥

to wage war.⁸¹ Yet Arjuna is said to have reached its frontier and conquered the northern Kurus living there.⁸²

According to the Epic, Uttarakuru, lying to the north of the Himālayas, was a land of idyllic pleasure and bucolic beauty. Thus, it cannot be the bleak, mountainous country of the Himālayas. It rather represents the region to the north of it, watered by the Tarim and its tributaries. Chinese travellers and pilgrims have testified to the prosperity and richness of these regions and the religiosity and righteousness of their people and Indian writers have described their luxury, wealth and bliss by the terms Maṇikāñcanavarsa, Gandharvaloka etc.⁸³

14. The migrations of the Kurus

In Tibetan texts, Uttarakuru is known as Jhang-damen.⁸⁴ According to a Tun-huang document, entitled 'The Religious Annals of the Li country', this land lay in the direction of the Tarim Valley somewhere in eastern Turkestan.⁸⁵ The change of climate and inroad of sandy waste, perhaps, led to the dispersal of the Kurus from there. One of their sections reached Iran, swept through the corridor between the southern foot of the Elburz Range and the northern pasture lands in the basin of lake Urmiah and, beyond that, in the steppe country in the lower basin of the rivers Aras and Kur, adjoining the west coast of the Caspian Sea. From there, they travelled on still further westward over the watershed between the basins of the Aras and the Qyzyl Irmaḡ (Halys) and debouched into the Anatolian Peninsula to settle in the region, called the Kuru Plain, Koroupedion, after their name, which, like its Indian

81. *Ibid.*, II. 25. 11 :

उत्तराः कुरवो ह्येते नात्र युद्धं प्रवर्तते ।

82. *Ibid.*, V. 22. 8 :

दिशं शुदीचीमपि चोत्तरान्कुरुन् गाण्डीवधन्वैकरथो जिगाय ।

83. Buddha Prakash, 'Uttarakuru', *Bulletin of Tibetology*, Vol. II, No. 1 (March, 1965), pp. 27-34.

84. N. C. Sinha, 'Uttarakuru in Tibetan Tradition', *Bulletin of Tibetology*, Vol. II, No. 1 (March, 1965), pp. 35-38.

85. F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, p. 318, f. n. 11, cited by Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

counterpart, Kurukṣetra, was the scene of memorable battles, like those between Seleucos Nicator and Lysimachus in 281 B.C., and the Romans and Antiochus III in 190 B.C., which decided the fate of empires in that region⁸⁶. Another detachment of the Kurus found its way to Luristan and joined the early Achaemenids, as is clear from the fact that two kings of the Parśuwaś Anśān branch of the Achaemenian family of Iran were named Kuru. A third wing of these people swung to the south-east and through Bactriana and the Hindu Kush moved into the Panjab and occupied the Sarasvatī-Yamunā region. It is significant that one section of the Kurus, called Prātiṭpeyas, is known as Bāhika.⁸⁷ It is also likely that either there was an infiltration of people from Uttarakuru along the Himalayan routes, or, after the settlement of the Kurus in India, the tradition of their coming from the North-West was forgotten and a connection between their Indian abode and their *urheimat* beyond the Himālayas was established through Himalayan routes that were regularly in use.

The Kurus were also an Indo-Iranian people. Pelliot has shown that, in ancient times, the Iranian people lived in Chinese Turkestan. His remarks are as follows :

"We now know that Iranian people once covered an immense territory extending all over Chinese Turkestan, migrating into China and coming in contact with the Chinese. The Iranians were the great mediators between the West and the East, conveying the heritage of Hellenistic ideas to central and eastern Asia and transmitting valuable plants and goods of China to the Mediterranean area. Their activity is of world-historical significance."⁸⁸

Otto Maenchen-Helfen has, also, shown that the Yue-Che, an Iranian people, were in occupation of the northern states of the Tarim basin long before

86. K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*. Vol. IV, part ii, pp. 458-71.

87. *Mahābhārata*, II. 63. 2112

88. Paul Pelliot, *Influences iraniennes en Asie Central et en Extrême Orient*, (Paris, 1911), cited in Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, (Chicago, 1919), p. 185.

the foundation of the Kuṣāṇa Empire, as can be gathered from the names of the places, Kutsi, Ku-shih and Kao-Chang, which were known to the Chinese already in the early Han period.⁸⁹

15. The decline of the Kurus and their association with the Painted Grey Ware

In India the Kurus mixed and merged among the Pūru-Bharatas and lived in association with the Pañcālas. Later on, however, their relations worsened and the movement of other Iranian peoples from the North-West put an end to their supremacy. The story of the decline and fall of the Kurus forms the central plot of the *Mahābhārata*. After the battle of Hastināpura, the capital of the Kurus is said to have been washed away by a flood in the Gaṅgā, compelling the king Nicakṣu to shift the capital to Kauśāmbī. The mound of Hastināpura still shows the traces of this flood and, just below the flood-level in period II, we find the Painted Grey Ware. In that period houses were made of mud or wattle-and-daub and agriculture and cattle-breeding as well as occasional hunting were the main occupations of the people. Among the domesticated animals, the horse (*equus caballus*) occupied an important place. Tools and weapons were mostly of copper, though, in the upper levels of the period, iron slags are also met with. This culture can be associated with the Kurus, who are known to be in occupation of the Hastināpura region in the period before the flood in the Gaṅgā, mentioned above.

89 Otto Maenchen-Helfen, 'The Yueh-Chih Problem Re-examined,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 65 (1945), p. 77.

CHAPTER VI

THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE ARYANS AND THE ṚGVEDA

1 The ethnic movements and cultural communications between the West and the East through the north-western frontier of the Indo-Pakistan sub continent

The above survey of the groupings and movements of peoples in the Indo Iranian region has shown that it was characterised by an ethnic dynamism from very early times. The north-western frontier of the Indo Pakistan sub continent was not a closed wall but an artery of trade, communication and movements of peoples. There was also a cultural diversity among the people of the highlands, deserts and plains which explains their frequent conflicts and antagonisms, and is responsible for the various groupings and agglomerations of tribes and clans. Occasionally, people from one direction moved into another sometimes assuming the form of *volkerwanderung* and even an invasion. In their wake, ideas and beliefs also travelled from one region to another. If many near eastern values and concepts reached north-western India and Pakistan, some norms and traditions also went from there towards the west resulting in a community of religious cultural patterns. The culture of the Mitannis in western Asia is an instance in point. About 1400 B C the Mitanni king Mattiuaza entered into a treaty with the Hittite king Shubbiluhuna, in which the gods Mitra, Varuna, Indra and the Nasatyas were cited. These gods appear side by side and in the same order as in *Ṛgveda*, X 125 1.

“I hold aloft both Varuṇa and Mitra, Indra and Agni, and the Pair of Aśvins”¹

2 Vedic gods in Mitanni treaties

Here Asvina figure in place of Nāsatyā and Agni is

¹ *Ṛgveda* X 125 1

अह मित्रावरुणोभा बिभर्म्यहमिन्द्राग्नी अहमश्विनोभा ।

mentioned with Indra. As Thieme writes, "the first of these is altogether irrelevant, the second can be looked upon as due to the wish to create a grammatical parallelism between the three members of the group, which now appear, all three, as duals"² Thieme has devoted a detailed and scholarly study to the names of these gods in the Mitanni treaty and shown that they are purely Vedic. "If I am right," he writes, "a meaningful proto-Aryan series of gods, invoked as witnesses to a treaty as 'lords of the oath,' would have been **Mitra*, **Asura*, **Vrtraghna*s. Disregarding the aspect of function, we should have to reconstruct as a proto-Aryan series, that would correspond to the Mitanni list **Mitra*, **Asura*, **Indras*, **Nasatya*s. In sharp contrast to the uncertainties, the discrepancies and the contradictions, that are created by summarily identifying the Mitanni list as a proto-Aryan series, the actually given — not reconstructed — Vedic chain *Mitra* *Varunā*, *Indra* *Aśvinā*, fits flawlessly together in form and function with the Mitanni one, when the treaty-protecting actions of the different gods in the Veda, such as they are explicitly extolled by the Vedic poets, are taken to be the idea, around which they are grouped. As treaty protecting gods, who watch over truth and untruth and punish the breach of solemnly given pledges, they make sense as witnesses to the Mitanni treaties"³ As regards the numerals (*aika*, *tera*, *panza*, *satta*), occurring in a manual of chariot-racing composed by a Mitannian author, Kikkuli, Thieme observes "As far as *s* is concerned, Indo-Aryan preserves the old situation, while Iranian has innovated, as to *aika*, the possibility must be admitted that both **aika* and **aiva* were proto-Aryan and that the exclusive adoption of **aika* in Indo-Aryan and of *aiva* in Iranian is the result of a later development. The fact that proto Aryan **ai* and **au* are replaced in Indo Aryan by *e* and *o*, while, in Old Iranian, they are preserved as *ai* and *au*, and that *ai* and *au* regularly appear on the Anatolian documents, e.g., Kikkuli's *aika*, is unfortunately inconclusive. It is quite possible that at the time of our oldest Indo-Aryan records (the hymns of the *Rgveda*) the actual pronunciation of the sounds developed

2 Paul Thieme, The Aryan Gods of the Mitanni Treaties 'Journal of the American Oriental Society' 80 (1960) 303

3 *Ibid.*, p. 316

from **ai* and **au*, spoken and written by the tradition as *e* and *o*, was still *ai* and *au*. The pronunciation *e* and *o* can be a secondarily introduced change under the influence of the spoken language on the scholastic recitation."⁴ This negatives the view of Ghosh that the language of the Mitanni records is not Vedic⁵ and dispells the theory of Wüst that the eighth maṇḍala of the *Rgveda* was written in Mitanni during the fifteenth or the fourteenth century B C.^{6a}

3. Vedic people in western Asia

It is clear from the above discussion that the Mitanni prince Mattiuaza, his father, Tušratta, and other Mitanni princes spoke the Vedic speech, worshipped the Vedic gods and belonged to the Vedic branch of the Indo-Iranian people, who had gone and settled in western Asia and ruled over the Hurri people. The inference, usually drawn by scholars, that they represented the proto-Aryan people and indicated a stage of the migration of the Aryans into India is not warranted.

4. The connotation of the term 'Ārya'

This brings us to a consideration of the vexed question of the original home of the Vedic people or the Aryans. There is a great deal of controversy regarding the connotation of Ārya or Aryan. Max Müller holds that "Aryan is utterly inapplicable to race. It means language and nothing but language ; if we speak of Aryan race at all, we should know that it means no more than X + Aryan speech."⁶ Penka

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 301-2.

5. *The Vedic Age*, p. 204.

5a. R. Heine-Geldern, 'Archaeological Traces of the Vedic Aryans,' *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, IV (1936) 105.

6. Max Müller, *Collected Works*, New Impression, 1898, Vol. K, p. 90. Some scholars hold that the Indo-European and Sino-Tibetan languages came from one speech family called *Eurasial*. Robert Shafer has thrown some light on this language on the basis of a study of sixty-four words. [Robert Shafer, 'Eurasial', *Orbis*, XII (1963) 19-44]. If this view has any substance, it would show that there is no warrant for holding that there was any such thing as the Indo-European language from the very beginning.

thinks that Aryan represents race and his followers identify them with the dolicocephalic, leptorrhine, glaucoophthalmic type⁷ The word *arya* is derived from the root *r* meaning 'to move' and, therefore, it may signify a traveller or a nomad as distinguished from a sedentary person⁸ Some ancient writers used the term neither in an ethnic context nor in a linguistic sense but took it to denote a good standard of character and morals If a person adhered to it, he deserved the commendation, conveyed by the title *arya*, if he deviated from it, he incurred the opprobrium, couched in the term *anārya* Both these terms were used irrespective of the considerations of race, language or culture For instance, we know that Pusyamitra Śunga, first a general of the Maurya monarch, Brhadratha, and after his assassination, the founder of the Sunga empire of Magadha, was a Brahmana, a champion of orthodox culture, a patron of Sanskrit scholars like Patañjali, a performer of two horse sacrifices and, thus, in all respects, a true embodiment of Ārya culture, as it was understood and practised in India Yet, the great man of letters, Bānabhaṭṭa, calls him *anārya* (un-Āryan), obviously, because he committed the dastardly act of assassinating his master, Brhadratha on the occasion of an inspection of a military parade⁹ It is quite patent that in this context the word *arya* does not and cannot refer to any cultural category or racial affinity and simply means a man of good character and conduct

Scholars have tried to reconstruct an hypothetical Indo European language on the basis of linguistic equations based on the data of existing languages and formulate the cultural traits of its speakers from its standpoint But this method is very unsatisfactory, since by it one would conclude as A B Keith remarked that the Indo Europeans knew butter but not milk snow and feet but not rain and hands

7 *Origines Aricae*, 1883, p 6

8 M Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary* p 152

9 Bānabhaṭṭa *Harpacarita* Uccvāṣa VI (*Trivandrum Sanskrit Series* No 187 p 301)

प्रज्ञादुर्वचं च बलदर्शनस्यपदेशदक्षितोशेषसैन्यं, सेनानी जनार्यो मौयं
बृहद्रथं पिपेश पुष्यमित्र स्वामिनम् ।

5. Current theories about the home of the Aryans

Modern scholars differ on the identification and specification of the original home of the Aryans or Indo-Europeans. Penka thinks that Scandinavia was the cradleland of these people¹⁰ Kossinna first believed that the Indo-Europeans were the creators of the civilizations of the basin of the Danube, but, after 1909, associated them with the megalithic Nordic civilization originating in Scandinavia. According to him their original home was southern Scandinavia, Denmark and northern Germany. They represented a fusion of the dolichocephalic people of Ellerbeck and the brachycephalic people of Dobbertin and their direct descendants are the Germans. In his view, the Indo-Europeanisation of central Europe and adjoining territories resulted from three expeditions of these people, the first bringing bottles of detachable necks (*kragenflaschen*) and funnel-necked beakers (*trichterrandbecher*), the second spreading the spherical amphorae (*kugelamphoren*) and the third propagating the corded ceramics (*schnurkeramik*) and the battle-axes¹¹. Sprockhoff agrees with Kossinna that the megalithic Nordic civilization represents the origin of the Indo-Europeans but extends their home further to the east and west of Germany¹². Penka, Wilser, Lapouge, Gobineau etc. identify them with the blond dolichocephalic people of fair complexion and blue eyes found in northern Europe. Reche, Schulze, Gunther, Schuchhardt and the scholars of the 'Nordischer Ring' hold that the dolichocephalic Nordics stand for the Indo-Europeans from the point of view of race, language and culture. Some linguists and archaeologists also support the thesis of the Germanic origin of the Indo-Europeans. Herman Hirt holds that the land to the east and west of the river Vistula, including Germany and some parts of eastern Europe, where the Slavs

10 Penka *op. cit.*, p. 56

11 G. Kossinna 'Der Ursprung der Urfinnen und der Urindogermanen und ihre Ausbreitung nach dem Osten' *Mannus*, I-II (1911) *Ursprung und Verbreitung der Germanen in vor- und frühgeschichtliche Zeit*, (Leipzig, 1934)

12 E. Sprockhoff 'Zur Entstehung der Germanen' *Festschrift Hirt* (Heidelberg 1936), pp. 255-74. *Die nordische Megalithkultur, Handbuch der Vorgeschichte Deutschlands*, (Berlin, 1938).

and the Lithuanians of the Baltic group lived in ancient times, constitutes the original home of the Indo-European speech.¹³ Kretschmer shows that during the neolithic age the Indo-Europeans, living in northern and central Europe and speaking one proto-Indo-Germanic language, divided into two groups, represented by the striped and corded potteries, that are found in the Danubian regions and central Germany, respectively.¹⁴ Meillet says that the speakers of the Indo-European language occupied the northern regions of Europe or the borderland of Europe and Asia near the Baltic.¹⁵ But he adds that they comprised people of distinct races, who either mixed with each other or lived in close proximity and juxtaposition. Childe first thought that the Indo-Europeans moved from the steppes and the country of ochre sepulchres towards central Europe, but later held that the Nordic cultures of Jutland and central Germany were older than the ochre sepulchre culture of the steppes and thus represent the earliest stratum of the Indo-European civilization. Again, he shifted the cradle of the Indo-Europeans to the central Asiatic steppes, but, dissatisfied with this position, regretted, in a posthumous publication, his effort to overemphasize the role of Asia and underestimate that of Europe in the dissemination of these people.¹⁶

Some scholars place the original home of the Indo-Europeans in central and eastern Europe. H. Schmidt locates it on the lower Danube, De Michchi in Hungary and Giles in the area which is bounded on its eastern side by the Carpathians, on its south by the Balkans, on its western side by the Austrian Alps and the Böhmer Wald

13. *Festschrift H. Hirt*, (Heidelberg, 1936). *Die Indogermanen*, vol. I p. 183.

14. P. Kretschmer, 'Die vorgriechischen Sprach und Volksschichten,' *Glotta*, XXVIII (1910) 84-218; (1943) 231-278.

15. A. Meillet, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*, (2nd edition, 1920), pp. 8-9.

16. V. Gordon Childe, *The Aryans*, (New York 1926), *The Danube in Pre-history*, (Oxford, 1929), *Pre-historic Migrations of Europe*, (Oslo-London, 1950); in *The European Inheritance*, ed. Sir Ernst Barker (1954); 'Retrospect' *Antiquity*, Vol. XXXII (1958).

and on the north by the Erzgebirge and the mountains, which link them up with the Carpathians, that is, the country now called Hungary, Austria and Bohemia.¹⁷ Bosch-Gimpera says that the Indo-European people emerged from the ethnic groups of central Europe in the neolithic period, probably in the fifth millennium. One of these groups, occupying the present Czechoslovakia and the neighbouring regions, produced the Danubian culture, and another, living on the Polish Plateau and the Pontic region, developed an analogous culture complex. As a result of contacts and mixtures with other peripheral peoples, the various ramifications of the Indo-European peoples came into existence.¹⁸ Wilke thinks that the eastern Danubian civilisation, characterised by painted pottery of the type of Cucuteni-Tripolye, was the cradle of the Iranians, among whom he includes the Thracians.¹⁹ Krahe calls the people of central Europe 'alteuropäisch' and considers their language the ancestor of the Indo-European languages.²⁰ Pittioni holds that the culture of urn-fields spread from the basin of the Danube through the Illyrian civilisation of Lusace, and Pokorny associates it with the archaic Indo-Europeans, whom he locates in the wide stretch of land between the Weser and the Vistula and beyond these upto White Russia and Volhynia.²¹ Whatmough shows the prevalence of Indo European languages in southern Balkans and the region, lying to the north of it, from neolithic

17 P. Giles, 'The Aryans', *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 61 ; 'Indo-Europeans', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XII, p. 266.

18 P. Bosch-Gimpera, *Les Indo-Européens: Problèmes Archéologiques*, translated into French by R. Lantier (1961), p. 265.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

20. H. Krahe, 'Indogermanisch and Alteuropäisch', *Saeculum*, VIII (1957) 1-16.

21. Pokorny, 'Substrattheorie and Urheimat der Indogermanen', *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, LXVI (1936) 69-91 ; Pittioni, *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* (1936) p. 531.

times.²² Antoniewicz traces the homeland of the Indo-Europeans in the Ukranian steppes and central Europe, especially in the territories where the globular amphorae and the corded pottery are found. From the mixture of the Ukranian and Caucasian peoples grew the Balto-Slavs between the Vistula, the Dvina and the upper Dniepr.²³ Garašanin opines that in the Balkans the Indo-Europeans are the bearers of the cultural tradition from the very beginning upto the bronze age.²⁴

The problem of the origin of the Indo-Europeans is also discussed by Italian scholars from the standpoint of the history of their country. Laviosa-Zambotti attributes the introduction of the Indo-European language in Italy to the Vucedol culture spreading from the Adriatic to the north. Pareti finds an ancient Indo-European wave among the indigenous aeneolithic people and a recent wave among the cremation practising population of the iron age. It is held that the Terramaricoli of the Po Valley, who cremated their dead and deposited their remains in cinerary urns, represented the Indo-Europeans. However, Patroni insists on the persistence of the native character of the Italians right from the neolithic upto recent times. He refuses to accept that the introduction of the Indo-European idiom was the result of the immigration of one or more peoples into Italy. In his view, it came about through a transformation of the indigenous language as a result of divers contacts. Rellini dismisses the theory of the advent of the bronze age in the wake of the invasion of the Terramaricoli. According to him, they represent a regional development of the Po Valley, contemporaneous with the

22. J. Whatmough. 'Gaulish', *Festschrift F. Zeuss* (Dublin, 1955), pp. 249-55; *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, LX (1951) 175-85.

23. W. Antoniewicz, 'Das Problem der Wanderungen der Indogermanischen über die polnischen and ukrainischen Gebiete', *Festschrift H. Hirt* (Heidelberg, 1936).

24. M. and D. Garašanin, 'Kajesickoj pripadanosti neolitskog prastanovništva Balkana', *Glasnik Zemaljskog Museja u Sarajevu*, (1957), pp. 201-16, 'O problemu ranog bronzanog doba u zapadno Srbiji i Bosni' *Ibid.*, (1958), pp. 5-19.

growth of an Apennian civilisation in the peninsula, spurred by contacts with the eastern Mediterranean world. Pollottino holds that it is impossible to identify the Italians with the invaders from the north. As for the Etruscans, Ugo Antonielli, following Edouard Meyer, takes them to be the autochthonous people of Italy, who created the Roman civilisation. Devoto says that the whole concept of the Indo-Europeans is a myth, since from earliest times Europe displays a variety of social and cultural types.²⁵

A group of scholars considers South Russia as the original home of the Indo-Europeans. Schrader, Myres, Cornoy, Burrow etc. follow this view and Peake and Childe see in the ochre sepulchres of the Russian steppes the traces of the movements of the Indo-European peoples.²⁶ Trager and Smith hold that about 3000 B.C., an Indo-Hittite people lived in South Russia. Towards 2500 B.C. the Hittites separated from the main stem and settled in Anatolia, about 2300 B.C. the Armenians branched off from the main body, about 2200 B.C. the Indo-Iranians and the Greeks detached themselves from the parent people, about 1500-1000 B.C. the southern (Italic) and western (Celtic) groups crystallised and about 800-500 B.C. the Germanic tribes seceded from the Balto-Slavs, while, about the Christian era, the Balts and the Slavs became separate. Hawkes thinks that the Indo-Europeans and their original dialects belonged to the region between the Baltic and the Northern Sea, on the one hand, and between the Black Sea, the Caucasus and the Caspian, on the other. It was between the Caucasus and

25. For a discussion of this matter see G. Devoto, 'Il problema indo-europeo come problema storico' *Romana*, Vol. V (1941). No. 6; M. Pollottino, 'Le origine storiche dei popoli italiani,' *Relazioni, Storia de l' Antichità*, (X Congresso Internazionale di scienze storiche, Roma, (1934) pp. 1-66; P. Laviosa-Zambotti, *Le più antiche culture agricole europee*, (Milan, 1943)

26. O. Schrader, *Reallexicon der indogermanische Sprache*, (1901); *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, (1906). T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language*, p. 30; A. Cornoy, *Les Indo-Européens* (Louvain, 1921).

eastern Europe, in the the south of Russia, that the cradle of these people has to be sought²⁷ Schachermeyr says that in the palaeolithic age the Indo Europeans are attested in the south of the U S S R At the beginning of the neolithic period they broke into many branches and dispersed in many directions²⁸ According to Soviet archaeologists, like Brjussow, the formation of Indo European goes back to the mesolithic period or the beginnings of the neolithic and it attained its maturity in the fifth or fourth millennium B C

Another group of scholars seeks the home of the Indo-Europeans in Asia Minor Suggesting this view, Feist has shown that the Germans were originally a non-Indo European people speaking a non-Indo European language It was later that they adopted and assimilated the Indo European language as a result of divers influences²⁹ Forrer thinks that the Hittite or Kanasic language has simpler constructions than the Indo European and the Luwic and Tabalic speeches, corresponding to the Hittite hieroglyphic have less complicated forms than it According to him these three languages of Asia Minor are the most ancient forms of the Indo Germanic speech group³⁰ Hrozný holds that about 2300 B C the Lutes entered Anatolia from the north and were followed four hundred years later by the Hittites A branch of the Hittites created the Indus Valley Civilisation in the Saptasindhu region in the first half of the second millennium B C A few centuries later, the Vedic Aryans came and supplanted them³¹

27 C Hawkes *The Prehistoric Foundations of Europe* (London 1940)

28 F Schachermeyr *Die älteste Kulturen Griechenlands* (Stuttgart 1955)

29 Sigmund Feist *La question du pays d'origine des Indo-Européens* *Scientia* (1913) pp 304-13 *Indogermanen und Germanen*, (Halle 1914) pp 77 et seq

30 E Forrer *Die acht Sprachen der Boghazköi Inschriften* (Berlin 1919) *Die hethitische Bilderschrift* (Chicago 1932)

31 B Hrozný *Histoire de l'Asie Antérieure de l'Inde et de la Crète* French translation by Madeleine David (Paris 1947)

Other scholars place the Indo-European urheimat further to the east. Koppers holds that there are two components of the language and civilization of the Indo-Europeans—Uralo Altaic—a dolichocephalic, horse-riding, nomadic people, having a patriarchal organisation,—and Caucasians—a brachycephalic, agriculturist and cattle-breeding people having a matriarchal society. He has also shown that the horse-sacrifice among the Indo-Europeans has some proto Turko Mongolian features³². Benveniste says that Tukharian belongs to the most archaic stratum of the Indo-European languages. The speakers of this language came from the north of the Carpathians and spread up to the mouth of the Don near the Finno-Ugrian peoples. Broadly speaking, the domain of the Tukharians spread in the steppes from the south-east of Russia up to the Ural or, more precisely, between the Dniepr and the Ural. He also admits the possibility that the Indo-European homeland lay further to the east in the steppes of the Khirghiz. Linguistically speaking, Tukharian lies at the centre of the Baltic, Slav, Greek, Thraco Phrygian and Armenian languages. Hittite also branched off from it³³. Brandenstein thinks that the north western Khirghiz steppe to the south of the Urals represents the first home of the Indo Europeans. From there the Indo Iranians first seceded and migrated to the east, the remaining stock, called Late Indo European, later broke up into many branches which moved west. He bases his views on applied semasiology, according to which the home of the Early Indo Europeans must be in the steppeland at the foot of a mountain range which corresponds with the situation of the Khirghiz steppe³⁴. Eickstedt locates the early home of the Indo-Europeans

32 W Koppers *Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen*, *Die Indogermanen und Germanenfrage*, (Vienna, 1936) pp 279-412

33 E Benveniste 'Tokharien et Indo Européen', *Festschrift H Hirt*, (Heidelberg 1936) II pp 227-40. *Les Indo Européens et le peuplement de l'Europe* *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, XVII (1939) 16-18

34 Brandenstein *Die erste indogermanische Wanderung*, (Vienna, 1936)

in Kazakhstan and Nehring says that it extended upto South Russia and Ukraine where the Tripolye culture is their first manifestation³⁵

Many scholars place the original home of the Indo-Europeans in Asia. Marija Gimbutas holds that the lower Volga area, around the sea of Aral in Uzbekistan and in Kazakhstan to the Altai mountains, is the land of Aryan origins and the Eurasian Kurgan culture, which developed there, is the first manifestation of their socio-cultural evolution³⁶. She observes that the Kurgan elements fully correspond with the early stratum of Indo-European words concerning social structure, pattern of habitation, architecture (small rectangular timber houses), economy (predominantly stock breeding and farming on a small scale) and religion (horse sacrifice, sun symbolism etc.)³⁷. The huge kurgan near Maikop in the Kuban Valley shows that the people, buried there, were dolichocephalic with rather low foreheads and pronounced supra-orbital ridges. These tombs contained enormous masses of gold and silver showing that the chieftains, buried there, plundered widely in the rich plains of Armenia, Cappadocia and even Mesopotamia.

Dandekar thinks that the *urheimat* of the Aryans was somewhere in the steppes between the Altai and the Urals, extending, perhaps from Khirghizistan to South Russia, and their secondary *urheimat* was the Choresmian and Oxus regions where the Iranians separated from their main body, which then split up in two branches one, called the Mitanni, moving westward and the other, representing the Indo-

35 Nehring *Studien zur indogermanischen Kultur und Urheimat* pp 27 59 61 and 227

36 Marija Gimbutas *The Prehistory of Eastern Europe I Mesolithic, Neolithic and Copper Age Cultures in Russia and the Baltic Area* (Harvard University Bulletin No 30 Cambridge Mass 1956)

37 Marija Gimbutas *The Indo-Europeans Archaeological Problems* *American Anthropologist* LXXV no 4 (1963) 27

Aryans, trekking down into India³⁸ Heine-Geldern traces the movements of the Aryan war-bands from the Caspian upto Anau in Russian Turkestan. He thinks that traces of intercourse between northern India, Persia and Transcaucasia have been found in Hissar III and Turang Tepe in North Persia. In his view, copper forks, disc-headed pins, raquet-pins, double-animal-headed protomes and daggers or spear-heads with stop and crooked tang belong to the people who created that culture. The axe-adze with shaft-hole from the upper levels of Mohenjodaro resembles those found at Turang Tepe, Hissar, Assur and Maikop. Likewise, the trunnion celt, the antennae swords and the harpoon heads from different Indian sites are of foreign origin. We have examined the views of Heine-Geldern at another place in this book (pp. 73-4) and need not repeat that discussion. Suffice it to say that they do not conclusively establish the fact of Aryan invasion in India. Of similar stamp is the doctrine of Gordon that the debris of Shahi Tump, Jhukar, Jhangar and Cemetery H of Harappa and the remains of Giyan II, Hissar III and Sialk IV contain the traces of Aryan invasion. We have already seen that the Jhukar, Jhangar and Cemetery H cultures do not correspond to the so-called Aryan invasion. We may add here that at Giyan II and Hissar III, the funeral rite consisted of inhumation rather than cremation, whereas the so-called Indo-Aryans mostly practised cremation, though they were not ignorant of burial or even exposure, as the *Atharvaveda* (XVII. 2. 34) shows.

Brunnhöfer, Husing and Hillebrandt think that the Vedic Aryans reached India by way of Iran and on their way lived for some time in the frontier regions of Iran and Turan, where they came into contact with the Parthians, Dahae and Parnians. Ghirshman suggests that the later inhabitants of prehistoric Sialk, the people, whose dead are buried in graveyard B, may represent the first tribes of the Aryans to invade the Iranian borderland.³⁹

38. R. N. Dandekar, 'The Antecedents and the Early Beginnings of Vedic Period', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Tenth Session, Bombay, p. 40.

39. R. Ghirshman, *Iran*, (Pelican, 1954).

Edouard Meyer places the Indo-Europeans in the east and observes that with the discovery of new languages like the Kuchean "the old view, which makes the Indo-Germans come from Asia, has gained in force. We come to admit for the habitât of the Indo-Germans, both of the *Šatam* and the *Centum* groups of languages, the possibility of a situation more removed to the east than one has supposed. They would have come, like the Huns, Turks and Mongols, from the great plateau of central Asia. The analogy of ancient modes of burial of the Aryans and the Mongols proves it this way. The *Centum* people and a part of the *Šatam* people have pressed towards the west across the steppes of the Aral and the Caspian; another part of the *Šatam* people, Indo-Iranians, turned towards the south, whereas their parents, the nomadic Scythians and others, developed in the steppes near them. A fraction of the *Centum* people, remaining behind, survived among the Tukharians."⁴⁰ Meyer considers the Pamirs to be the hub of the home of the Indo-Europeans.

Schmidt holds that the Indo-Europeans originally belonged to Turkestan and adopted the horse from the region to the south of the Altai. They penetrated into Europe in three waves: in the first, bringing the horse as the animal for slaughter, in the second, bringing it as the animal to drive the cars and, in the third, bringing it as the animal of riding. The second wave brought the Aryans to Asia Minor and the Achaeans to Greece about 1800 B. C. and the third spread the Celts, Illyrians, Italians and Germans in the plains of Europe in the latter half of the second and the first half of the first millennium B. C.⁴¹ Examining the views of Schmidt, Hančar says that it was only in the second millennium B. C. that the horse was ridden or yoked to battle-cars in the whole of the Near East. In his view, it is wrong to think that the Indo-Europeans had any particular association with the horse. Thus, he considers the horse as quite irrelevant to the Aryan problem.⁴²

40. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* I, 1, section 569.

41. W. Schmidt *Rassen und Völker in Vorgeschichte und Geschichte des Abendlandes*, Vol. I, pp. 274-75.

42. F. Hančar 'Das Pferd in prähistorischer und frühprähistorischer Zeit', *Weiner Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, (Vienna, 1955); 'Die Skythen als Forschungsproblem', *Reinecke Festschrift*, (Mayence, 1950).

Poisson places the origin of the Indo-Europeans to the east of Europe⁴³ and Hubert locates them in Turkestan.⁴⁴ Moret thinks that they came from Bactriana, J. de Morgan holds that their urheimat was Siberia, Harshe says that they first lived in the region of the Altai mountain, which represents Mount Meru of Indian mythology,⁴⁵ Tilak calls the Arctic region their place of origin⁴⁶ and Pargiter gives this credit to Tibet.⁴⁷

The above survey of the current theories about the Indo-Europeans and their homeland, brief and sketchy as it is, shows wide divergences among the views of scholars regarding this subject. Ranging from Scandinavia upto the Altai mountain and from the Arctic ocean upto Tibet, they bring into bold relief the insufficiency of evidences and the uncertainty of conclusions based upon them. Hence some scholars have begun to look askance at this whole issue treating it merely a myth and shibboleth. Milošević questions if anything like an original Indo-European race and culture ever existed and holds that the Indo-Europeans represent a hypothetical conception of the philologists, for archaeology shows them as a *mélange* of varied, if not heterogeneous, elements. Sturm also states that the Indo-Europeans cannot be identified with any single civilization and reveal the mixture of two ingredients : agriculturists and cattle-breeders and herdsmen and hunters, producing a variety of cultural types. Devoto exposes the Indo-European myth and Laviosa-Zambotti describes these people as amorphous Eurasian nomads, spread and dispersed across the steppes, without any

43. G. Poisson, *Les Aryens*, (Paris, 1934).

44. H. Hubert, *Les Celtes*, (second edition, Paris, 1950).

45. R. G. Harshe, 'Mount Meru : The Homeland of the Aryans' *Dishveshvaranand Indological Journal* II (1964) 134-61.

46. B. G. Tilak, *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, pp. 58-60, 160.

47. F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, ch. I.

48. V. Milošević, 'Zur Frage der Chronologie der frühen und mittelren Bronzezeit in Ostungarn', *Actes du Troisième Congrès des Sciences pré et protohistoriques*, Zurich, 1950, (Zurich, 1953), pp. 256-81 *Grosser historischer Weltatlas, I, Erläuterungen*, (Munich, 1954) p. 13.

particular concentration developing a pre-agricultural economy resembling that of the Finno Ugrians ⁴⁹ Feist writes that "upto this day it is impossible to specify the exact situation of the original seat of the ethnic stock of the Indo Germans with the help of linguistic parallels ⁵⁰

6 The Aryan homeland in the region from the Sarasvatī to the Aral Caspian Sea

While considering the Aryan problem we should start from some facts which are commonly admitted. Everybody concedes that the *Rgveda* is the oldest surviving literature of the Aryans and has the largest number of vocables found in the Aryan languages. It preserves no reminiscence of the Aryan homeland away from the Saptasindhu region on the other hand it regards this region as the sacred land created by the gods (*devakṛtayoṇi* or *devīṇī tade a*) ⁵¹ on this ground A C Das concludes that the original cradle of the Aryans was Saptasindhu which included the beautiful valley of Kasmīra on the north and Gandhārī on the west. Its southern boundary was the Rajputana Sea and the eastern boundary the eastern Sea covering the Gangetic trough. By Saptasindhu he means the land watered by the rivers Sarasvatī, Satadru, Ārjikiyā or Vipās, Parusni, Asikni, Vitasta and Sindhū. Two of these rivers namely the Sarasvatī and the Ārjikiyā (the old Vipās) were subsequently dried up and became insignificant when Saptasindhu came to be called the *Panjab* or the Land of Five Rivers ⁵¹. In fact the *Rgveda* shows the Āryas settled in that land and does not give any hint of their having come there from any other country. The Vedic people describe their settlement in the Sarasvatī region as the clinging of a child to her mother's breast and pray that they may not have to go away from her banks. Guide us Sarasvatī to glorious treasure, refuse us not thy milk nor spurn us from thee. Gladly accept our friendship and obedience, let us not go from thee to distant

49. V. de note 25 above p. 128

50. V. de note 29 above p. 130

51. A C Das *Rgvedic India* (2nd ed.) p. 71

countries⁵² Hence, besides Das, Gangānātha Jha and K M Munshi hold that the original home of the Vedic Aryans was North India⁵³

To dub this clear evidence dubious on the ground of vague conjectures and *argumenta ex silentio*, as the absence of any reference to rice or salt or tiger or elephant, does not carry conviction But there is some proof of the fact that the original home of the Aryans extended beyond the Indus and embraced a larger part of the Iranian world The Vedic people were in occupation of eastern Afganistan, as the references to Kubha or the Kabul, the Krumu or the Kurum and the Gomati or the Gomal in the *Rgveda* show In ancient times the country, called Arianē bounded on the east by the Indus, on the south by the Indian Ocean from the mouth of the Indus to the Persian Gulf, and on the west by an imaginary line, drawn from the Caspian Gates to Carmania, was peopled by the *Arioī*, living side by side with the *Drangai*, as Strabo informs us⁵⁴ Kalhana designates this region by the name Āryanaka where King Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa was said to have met his death as a result of excessive snowfall⁵⁵ The Aryans of Iran call their homeland *Eranvej* or *Aīryanam Vejō Vahviyā Dathyāya* Vahvi is the same as Vahi or Valhi and denotes

52 *Rgveda* VI 61 14

सरस्वत्यि नो नेषि बह्व्यो मायं स्फुटी पथसा मा नृ जा धक् ।

जुषस्व न सुख्या देशो च मा त्वत् क्षेत्राण्यरंणानि गम्स ॥

53 Gangānātha Jha *Aryan Invasion of India Is it a Myth?* D R Bhandarkar Volume pp 12 K M Munshi *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa* I pp 46 82 A C Das *Rgvedic India* (2nd edition) p XIII That the Saptasindhu region was one of the cradles of the earliest man is man fest from the finds of the remains of the *Svaps thecus* and *Palaeopithecus* in the Sivalik Hills as well as the palaeolithic implements of the Sohan Valley Potwar and the adjoining territories The *Rgveda* states that Fire the youngest among the gods was first produced in the Saptasindhu region by the sages

54 D R Bhandarkar *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture* p 6

55 *Rajatarangini* IV 367

सुषारवर्षैर्बहुलैस्तमकाण्डमिवाग्निभिः ।

जायाणकामिधे देशे विपन्न केचिदुचिरे ॥

the river Oxus. In ancient times the Oxus discharged into the Caspian Sea. It filled the depression of Sarykamysk, flowed through the bed of the Uzboi, south-east of the gap in the Balkhan hills, over 100 miles south-east of Krasnovodsk, and fell into the Caspian opposite the group of islands called Aghyrtcha. The expression *Vējō Vahviya Dāthyāya* signifies the lower course of the Oxus, marked by the bed of the Uzboi, for here the river torrentially sallies forth and overflows its bounds (the idea of *vējō* or *vega*). In the Arsacid and Sassanid periods *Airyinam Vējō* did not mean a distinct region but a mythical homeland lying in the Doab of the Vahvi and the Rānha which first signified the Volga and later referred to the Araxes or the Jaxartes.⁵⁶ This region was deemed to have been bounded by the *Zrayo Vurukrtam* which has been identified by Bartholomae with the Caspian Sea, including not only the present sea of Aral and what is now the intervening desert but extending still further to the east to a distance not yet clearly determined. In *Yāst*, V. 9.17-19, Hošyanta is described as the king of this region before Yima. According to the *Vendidad* (I. 3), Yima organized a migration of people to the hospitable south to avert the calamity of winter and the pressure of population. Thus, it is clear that the region upto the shore of the old sea, encompassing the Caspian and the Aral, formed part of the Aryan homeland.

It is also likely that some tribes, going by the name of Aryan, also lived from north of the Aral Sea to the basin of the Don. They came to be known as the Alani. In Mongol times the true land of the Alans was in the eastern Caucasus, but this name was often extended to a region north-west of the Caspian Sea. Pelliot writes about these people as follows :—

“It seems that ‘Alan’ represents the original name of the Iranian confederation. It is well-known that the Caucasian Ossets are so called by their neighbours, but that they called themselves ‘Iron’, i.e., Iranians, from the same root as ‘Aryan’. Beyond Sogdiana, Herodotus speaks of the Scythian Areioi, where the Achaemenid inscriptions

56. E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and his World*, Vol. II, p. 699.

mention the Haraiva. Now Gauthiot (*Grammaire sogdienne, III*) has already remarked that, according to a law discovered by Andreas, *-ry-become-l-in the language of those northern Iranians, so that these tribes, called originally 'Arya', became normally Ala-, Alani (the same has been said since by Marquart himself in W. Dogen, *Unter fremden Völkern* (1925) pp. 380-1); their name is the same as the native name 'Irôn' of the Ossets.⁵⁷

It appears that either these tribes lived in the said region from the very beginning or they migrated there in later times.

Besides the said tribes, some peoples of the same stock lived in Chinese Turkestan especially in the Tarim basin. They were known as the Uttarakurus. Later on, the people, living there, were called Tukhāras and Śakas. It is likely that the Iranians remembered them as Turā or Turanians. Since they were often hostile to their kith and kin, settled in Iran, and even represented a lower stage of culture than theirs, they were also dubbed as Anerān or Unaryan. It is now known that these people spoke an Aryan dialect of the Centum group, as opposed to those of the Satem group, used by the Indo-Iranians. The dialects of the Centum group are also attested among the Hittites of Anatolia and the Achaeans of Greece as well as some peoples of Europe. Though a precise reconstruction of tribal movements in Eurasia is not possible, it is clear that these speakers of the dialects of the Centum group had some affinity with those speaking similar dialects in the country associated with the Tukhāras.

The upshot of the above discussion is that the region from the Sarasvati upto the sea, encompassing the Caspian and the Aral, was the cradleland of the Indo-Iranian peoples. It was inhabited by a large number of tribes and clans of these peoples speaking a variety of dialects of the Aryan speech and exhibiting different shades of a basic culture-complex. Their relations consisted of frequently changing associations and alliances often characterised by conflicts and bickerings. There were also displacements and movements

57. Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, p. 17.

among them from one region to another, presenting a spectacle of invasions and incursions. But they had a genius for cultural advance, which became manifest in the growth of rural communities, characterised by agriculture, stock breeding, industry and trade at a very early period. In course of time, these settlements headed towards urban development and grew into metropolitan concentrations. The Indus Valley Civilization was the climax of this process of economic and cultural evolution. But, with the passage of time, it lost its cohesion and solidarity, as a result of the degeneration of the higher classes into a 'dominant minority' with a prosaic, utilitarian and money-minded outlook. They excelled in industry and trade and banking and amassed enormous wealth, as one can gather from the type of life, they led in cities, like Lothal, Mohenjodaro and Harappa. But their stranglehold ultimately proved intolerable to the rural classes and stirred them into a vast upsurge which put an end to the glory and prosperity of their cities. However, the victors fell out with each other and ushered in a bout of internecine warfare. The *Rgveda*, in its present form, reflects the atmosphere of this dash and grab, chaos and conflict, and struggle and scramble.

7. The age of the *Rgveda*

About the *Rgveda*, it is important to note that it is not a static receptacle of knowledge, but a dynamic development of thought exhibiting a historical tendency. The hymns contain traces of the old and the new and expressly distinguish the new composition from the old tradition.⁵⁸ Often there are clear refer-

58. *Rgveda*, II. 17. 1 :

तवस्मै नम्यं अगिस्वदचैतु क्षुप्त्वा यदस्य प्रलभोदीदिते ।

Ibid., II. 18. 3.

सूक्तेन वचसा नवेन ।

Ibid., III. 31. 19 :

नम्यं कृणोमि सम्भसे पुराजाम् ।

Ibid., X. 91. 13 ;

इमां प्रनार्यं सुष्टुतिं नवीयसी वोच्यैर्मरमा उशते क्षुणोतु नः ।

Ibid., I. 62. 13 :

सुनायुते गोतम इन्द्र नम्यमर्क्षद् ब्रह्म हरियोजनाय ।

ences to old and new *ṛsis* and their works.⁵⁸ Thus, it appears that the Veda, though enshrining the oldest ritual and sacerdotal tradition and embodying the earliest religious and philosophical speculation of the Ārya inhabitants of the Saptasindhu region, was revised, recast and systematised by the priestly families, leading the various tribes and clans of the people, in the period of post-Harappan time of trouble and turmoil. The bulk of the hymns, contained in it, underwent this process of redaction and editing within the span of a few generations from Divodāsa to Trasadasyu and his successors ruling over the Puru-Bharatas before the rise of the Kuru-Pañcālas.

On the basis of Carbon-14 determinations, we get some idea of the chronological limits of the Indus Valley Civilization. The Kot Diji culture stratigraphically pre-Harappan, may have commenced about 2700 B.C. So far, there is no Carbon-14 determination for the early levels of Harappan culture, but it is clear that its end took place about 2000 B.C. at Kalibangan, at Lothal in the nineteenth century and at Mohenjodaro about 1700 B.C.⁶⁰ We are, therefore, not wide of the mark if we assign the final redaction and revision of the *Rgveda* to the first half of the second millennium B.C., though the patterns of thought and belief, implicit in its hymns, reflect the entire range of Aryan

Ibid, VI. 18. 15 :

कृत्वा कृत्नो मकृते यत् ते अस्त्युक्तं नवीयो जनयस्व यज्ञैः ।

Ibid, VI. 8. 1 :

वैश्वानराय मतिर्नव्यसी शुचिः सोमं हव पवने चारुणये ।

59. *Rgveda*, I. 1. 2 :

अग्निः पूर्वमिर्ऋषिभिरोद्भूतो नूतनैरुत ।

Nirukta, I. 20 :

साक्षात्कृतधर्माण ऋषयो बभूवुः । तेऽवरेभ्योऽसाक्षात्कृतधर्मभ्य उपदेशेन
मंत्रान् संप्रादुः । उपदेशाय ग्लायन्तोऽवरे विष्मग्रहणायेमं ग्रन्थं समाग्रासिषुः
वेदं च वेदाङ्गानि च ।

60. B. B. Lal, 'A Picture Emerges: An Assessment of the Carbon-14 Datings of the Proto-Historic Cultures of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent,' *Ancient India*, Nos. 18-19 (1962-63) 209-21.

religious evolution and philosophical development in the Saptasindhu region.

Recently K. N. Sastri has shown that the Indus Valley Civilization is Vedic in character, but it corresponds to the Middle Vedic period, represented by the *Atharvaveda* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, rather than the Early Vedic period, reflected in the *R̥gveda*. To quote his words : "A review of the whole problem, as set forth above, tends to point to the inference that the conditions of life, envisaged in the *Atharvaveda*, are very much in accord with those under which people lived in the Indus Valley some five thousand years ago. From this investigation it would appear that the *R̥gveda* is much older than the Indus Civilization."⁶¹

K. N. Sastri bases his aforesaid view on the absence of the reference to wheat, tiger and the *śvattha* tree, prominently known in the Indus Valley Civilization, in the *R̥gveda*, and the close parallelisms between many ideas and rituals of the Indus Valley people and those mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*. For instance, he shows that the bull, peacock, lotus, *śvattha* and *śami* were associated with the solar world and believed to help the spirit of the dead person (*preta*) to attain to that sphere in the Indus Valley age. The sanctity and divine character of these animals and plants are laid down in the *Atharvaveda* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. These texts have a clear cut conception of the divine origin of these celestial trees and relate stories of their emergence from the sacrificial fire in consequence of which they were regarded as *yajñavacara* or associates of sacrifice. The figure of the sacred tree, growing from an altar on a seal from Mohenjodaro, recalls the legend of its origin from the *ukha* (sacred pan) mentioned in the story of Urvaśī and Pūruṣas in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The ritual of sacrificing a bovine animal and a goat at the time of cremating a dead person, prevalent among the Harappans, accords with the injunction to sacrifice the black cow, called *anustaraṇi*, and the goat, called *pañcaudana*, in the funerary ceremonial described in the

61. K. N. Sastri, *New Light on the Indus Civilization*, Vol. II, (Delhi, 1965), p. 142.

Atharvaveda. Likewise, the idea of offering cakes (*piṇḍas*), collyrium, perfumes, garments, ornaments etc. to the *pitṛs*, dwelt upon in the *Atharvaveda* and the *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra*, is attested among the Indus Valley people. As for the numerous seals and sealings from the Indus Valley sites, they are amulets and talismans (*maṇis*) for scaring away crocodiles, tigers, snakes, bisons etc., or for bringing plentiful harvests and conferring wealth, happiness and longevity. On them the figures of the sacred tree, the svastika mark, the symbols of navagraha and other auspicious signs are intended to counteract the evil effects of diseases, black magic and other perils of life. Many of these seals bear smoke marks showing that incense was burnt and other offerings made before them by the householders. The *Atharvaveda* refers to charms and amulets which were worn on the body by means of thread or wire or were kept in the house as guests or deities and entertained with offerings of food, meat and wine. K. N. Sastri has given a list of 181 charms from this Veda and shown that the idea behind them is the same as we find in the Indus Valley seals. On the basis of these data he concludes. "If we compare the two pictures of the contemporary social life of the periods, as manifested in the works of the Indus artists and as described in the *Atharvaveda*, we cannot help feeling that a community of ideas underlies the two pictures. The spirit of the two cultures breathes an air of superstition and animistic idiosyncracies almost identical with each other."⁶² "In the *R̥gveda*, too, there are references which clearly show that even in that early Vedic period beliefs in the efficacy of charms did exist, but they were then in their nascent stage."⁶³

In order to examine the views of K. N. Sastri, we have first to note that the literary development of the *Atharvaveda* is coeval with that of the *R̥gveda*. In some respects the material of the former is even older than that of the latter. In the words of Winternitz "the magic poetry of the *Atharvaveda* is in itself at least as old as, if not older than, the sacrificial poetry of the *R̥gveda*" and "the numerous

62. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

pieces of the *Atharvaveda* date back into the same dim prehistoric times as the oldest song of the *Rgveda*.⁶⁴ Weber also thinks that the hymns of the *Atharvaveda* are as old as those of the *Rgveda*, but the former represent the beliefs of the common people and the latter the views of the higher classes. To quote him, 'in the *Rk* we find the people in a state of free activity and independence, in the *Atharvan* we see it bound in the fetters of the hierarchy and of superstition. But the *Atharvaveda samhita*, likewise, contains pieces of great antiquity, which may perhaps have belonged more to the people, to its lower grades; whereas the songs of the *Rk* appear rather to have been the special property of the higher families.'⁶⁵ As Shende has shown, in the Vedic period both religion and magic existed side by side and influenced each other and were sponsored by the ancient seers like Angiras, Atharvan, Bhṛgu, Vasīṣṭha etc. In his words, "the absence of any reference to the *Atharvaveda* in the Vedic literature till the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which mentions it, is due to the circumstances that the *Rgveda* and *Atharvaveda* form complements of each other and it was not felt necessary to separate them from each other."⁶⁶ But, in course of time, with the growth of specialisation, a hectic rivalry, bordering on intolerant acrimony, developed among the followers of the *Rgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*. The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to an interesting episode in which the gods implored Indra to afford protection to their sacrifice, he assumed the form of *Rgveda*, *Yajurveda* and *Sāmaveda* in turn, but failed to give adequate protection to it, then he assumed the form of *Brahmaveda* or *Atharvaveda* and properly protected the sacrifice.⁶⁷ In another passage of the same *Brāhmaṇa*, it is

64. M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 127.

65. A. Weber, *The History of Indian Literature*, p. 11.

66. N. J. Shende, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Atharvaveda*, p. 8.

67. *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, I. 2. 19, Bibliotheca Indica edition, p. 36 :

ते देवा इन्द्रमनुवन् । इमं यस्तावद्वशं गोपाय ... स वै नस्तेन रूपेण गोपाय येन नो रूपेण भूविषं छादयसि येन शक्यसि गोप्तुमिति । स ऋग्वेदो

(Cont.)

stated that when the *Rgveda*, *Yajurveda* and *Samaveda* failed to tame a horse, *Atharvaveda* succeeded in doing it.⁶⁸ Regarding the chronological position of the *Rgveda* and *Atharvaveda*, the consensus of opinion has been summed up recently by Louis Renou as follows ; "L'*Atharvaveda*, même si la date de la rédaction a pu être relativement basse, occupe dans la chronologie présumable du védisme, quant à l'élaboration première des matériaux, un rang qui ne le cède nullement à celui du *Rgveda*, qu'on a même parfois voulu reculer plus haut que ce dernier. Et le paippalāda, malgré des modernismes de langue qui peuvent être déconcertants, n'est sûrement pas moins ancien en son fonds que le śaunaka ; il lui serait plutôt antérieur."⁶⁹ Thus, it is incorrect to say that the *Rgveda* represents an earlier stage of religious evolution than the *Atharvaveda*.

K.N. Sastri's aforesaid theory should be considered from another point of view also. The *Rgveda*, as shown in the earlier parts of this book, draws its imageries from the sacking of urban settlements by rustic people. It presupposes the existence of flourishing urban centres peopled by a rich trading class. When it was given its present linguistic form, those cities were being destroyed. If, therefore, it is believed that the Indus Valley Civilization flowered after the *Rgveda*, it would mean that after the destruction of one phase of urban development, another phase of the growth of towns and cities made its appearance in the form of the Indus settlements. But archaeology gives the lie to such a proposition because it reveals only one phase of urban

भूत्वा पुरस्तात्परीत्योपातिष्ठत् । तं देवा अजुवन् । अन्यत्तद्रूपं कुरुष्व नैतेन
नो रूपेण भूयिष्ठं छाद्यसि नैतेन शक्यसि गोप्तुमिति । स यजुर्वेदो भूत्वा
पश्चात्परीत्योपातिष्ठत् । तं देवा अजुवन् । अन्यत्तद्रूपं कुरुष्व । नैतेन
नो रूपेण भूयिष्ठं छाद्यसि नैतेन शक्यसि गोप्तुमिति स सामवेदो भूत्वा
उत्तरतः परीत्योपातिष्ठत् । तं देवा अजुवन् । अन्यत्तद्रूपं कुरुष्व ।
नैतेन नो रूपेण भूयिष्ठं छाद्यसि नैतेन शक्यसि गोप्तुमिति ।

68. *Ibid.*, I. 2. 18, p. 35.

69. Louis Renou, 'Notes sur la version "paippalāda" de l'*Atharvaveda*', *Journal Asiatique*, cc LII (1964) 422-3.

evolution in the Indus Valley region in the third millennium B.C. The towns and cities of this period were preceded by rural settlements and followed by decadence of urban standards. It is futile to talk of two bouts of urban development in India in the protohistoric period. Hence it is unplausible to argue that the *Rgveda*, in its present image structure, is anterior to the Indus Valley Civilization. From this point of view, the theory of Sastri that this civilization is posterior to the *Rgveda* and contemporary with the *Atharvaveda* does not carry conviction.

Sastri has nowhere shown the difference, much less the contradiction, between the *Rgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* so far as the rites and ideas of the Indus Valley Civilization are concerned. He has himself cited *Rgveda* VIII. 13. 12 to show that the *preta* was desired to attain those radiant solar spheres where the lucky people, who performed many sacrifices like *Agnihotra*, found asylum. On burial jar no H 206 b from Cemetery H at Harappa also we find this radiant solar world represented through stars, discs and peacocks. On another sherd we have the solar disc composed of pipal leaves. The paintings on pottery covers from stratum II of Cemetery H also reproduce the solar orb in various designs. Thus, there is no warrant for holding that the Indus people believed in a dark or dismal hell as the abode of the dead. Thus, the fact that there are some resemblances and correspondences between the ideological frameworks of the Indus Valley Civilization and the *Atharvaveda* is no warrant for holding that it is contrary to the spirit of the *Rgveda*. In chapter 2 of this book it has been shown that most of the ideas underlying this civilization are found in the *Rgveda*. Thus, it is clear that the present form of the *Rgveda* reflects the period of the decline of the Indus Valley Civilization, in the first half of the second millennium B.C., though its thought currents run through the entire course of the cultural evolution of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent from the very dawn of history.

KEY TO THE PLATES

I. Harappa, Parallel Walls

A view of Harappa showing the remains of buildings constructed on a symmetrical pattern. Such cities represent the *aśmanmayī* or *āyaśī puras* with ramparts and gates, which could stand long sieges, lasting for as long as one full year. Built of burnt bricks, they looked as if made of metal. In the *R̥gveda* Indra is said to have poured the vials of his wrath on them. For discussion, see pp. 62-69 *supra*.

II. Mohenjodaro, Great Bath

The Great Bath at Mohenjodaro $39' \times 23' \times 8'$ with surrounding buildings. Round it are corridors and rows of rooms, perhaps, double storeyed, one having a well to replenish the tank, a block of eight bathrooms, each about $9.5' \times 6'$, with residential quarters on the upper storey. To the north of the bath, across the lane, is a long building $230' \times 78'$ which is interpreted as the residence of a college of priests. The whole complex appears to have been meant for ceremonial baths, like the *Avabh̥ṛtha*, which the sacrificer has to take on the completion of the Soma sacrifice. For discussion, see pp. 48-49 *supra*.

III. Lothal, The Dock

The Dock at Lothal, 218×37 metres, trapezoid in plan, with brick-built walls enclosing an excavation basin. This basin was fed with water through an inlet channel, the excess being allowed to escape through a spillway. A seven metre wide channel connected it with the ancient course of the nearby Bhogavo river which, in turn, discharged into the Arabian Sea. It can be safely assumed that ships, weighing 40 to 50 tons, could easily have entered the Lothal dock through the inlet in the western embankment even after the river changed its course. The builders of the dock had taken necessary precautions to counteract the water thrust by providing offsets on the outer face of the brick walls, and by increasing the thickness of the western wall where the

thrust was the greatest The wall was further supported by a mud brick wharf 13 to 20 metres wide

This dock indicates the seafaring and maritime activities of the traders inhabiting the Indus Valley cities In the Vedas these people are called *Panīs* and their seafaring activities are referred to in the hymn to Varuna in *Rgveda* I 25

वेदा यो बीना पदमन्त्रिक्षेप पतताम् । वेद नाव समुद्रियः ।

For a discussion of the trade relations of the Indus Valley people see pp 86 92 supra

IV Mohenjodaro, Paśupati Seal

The seal from Mohenjodaro showing the three headed god This god is identified with the three headed six eyed god *Viśvarūpa* *Tvaṣṭr* mentioned in *Rgveda* X 99 6 and II 11 19 *Tvaṣṭr* or *Viśvakarma* *Prajapati* begets or incarnates himself into and becomes *Viśvarūpa* described as his son In fact the father becomes the son The three forces of mind (*manas*) life (*prāna*) and matter (*vak*) constituting the architectonics of creation are his three herds His epithets are *śayanīmā* and *supānī* The two deer below his seat refer to *Prajapati* in the form of a deer and his daughter *Usas* in the form of a doe The wild beasts on either side of the figure show him as the lord of the wild animals For discussion see pp 20 30 supra

V Mohenjodaro, Variant Paśupati Seal

A seal from Mohenjodaro showing a variant of the above figure

VI Mohenjodaro, Another Variant

Another variant of the aforesaid figure In it the stool is omitted and the figure is apparently seated on the ground The headdress consists of two horn like objects, between which there appears to be a spike of flowers A pigtail hangs down on one side of the head which has one face only in profile facing to the right On the left side is the bull

VII. Mohenjodaro, Bull

Seal from Mohenjodaro showing the bull. On the shoulder of the bull there is a design. On the full figurines from Zhob also ovoid marks are painted between the horns. These bovine figures can be compared with the spotted bull mentioned in *Rgveda* I. 164. 43 and interpreted as the sun (*Rgveda* X. 189. 1) comprehending the two principles of immortality and death. For discussion, see pp. 27-28 *supra*.

VIII. Mohenjodaro, 3 Forms and 7 Figures

Seal from Mohenjodaro showing the three forms and seven figures. They are interpreted as the three brothers and seven sons mentioned in *Rgveda* I. 164. 1. The three brothers are Vāma-palita hotṛ, Aśna and Ghṛtapṛṣṭha representing the Primeval Essence in an undifferentiated state, its creative agitation and craving for material form and its incarnation in the kingdom of living beings respectively. They are depicted as the goat, the person eating something from a vessel and the figure encased between the two twigs of a plant each having three leaves symbolising the trinity of mind, life and matter. The seven figures below stand for the seven-fold system of creation involving the operation of the seven categories of mind, life, fire, water, wind, sky and earth. Thus this seal depicts the idea of the *Asyavāmiyasūkta*.

IX. Mohenjodaro, Variant of above

A variant of the above seal. Here the goat is between the squatting figure and the figure between the twigs of the plants on the lower part and the figures are on the upper part.

X. Mohenjodaro, Another Variant

A variant of the aforesaid seal.

XI. Mohenjodaro, Pipal Twig with Five Branches

Seal from Mohenjodaro showing a Pipal twig with five branches having seven leaves above and two below and unicorns or snakes emerging from it and coiling to right and left. The Pipal tree is the symbol of cosmic creation in the *Rgveda*.

XII. Mohenjodaro, Snakes following Persons

Seal from Mohenjodaro showing two snakes following the persons in kneeling posture flanking the central deity. In Vedic terminology the serpent is both adorable and detestable ; as Ahirbudhnya it is praised and implored and as Vṛtra it is despised and condemned. Agni is also described as a raging serpent produced in the depth of the great space. In later Vedic texts Ahirbudhnya is connected with Agni Gārhapatya. In *Rġveda* VII. 34.16 the dragon is shown to be dominating the atmospheric region. He represents the dynamic movement of the creative process in nature.

XIII. Mohenjodaro, Man and Tiger

Seal from Mohenjodaro showing two scenes : to the right a person is shown as contending with two tiger-faced persons, who have plucked out two trees, and to the left a person on a tree is shown to be repelling a tiger, which looks back while retiring. The tiger represents nature in a wild, gross and selfish aspect. In the *Rġveda* (I. 80. 7 ; V. 29. 4) a wild beast is identified with a demon. He stands for disorder, chaos and statis. On the other hand, the tree signifies the ordered and dynamic evolution of nature. The figure atop the tree, forestalling the tiger, who casts covetous eyes on it even while retiring, represents the symbolism of the opposition of order and disorder in nature. The forces of order repel the elements of disorder, yet the latter pose a perpetual challenge before them. As for the figure to the right, the tiger-faced demons have uprooted the trees, showing that disorder has overpowered order ; but the spirit of nature contends with them with both hands. In a way, we may say that the two scenes complement each other. On the right side, the tiger faced demons have uprooted the trees or disorder has pounced upon order and the spirit of nature struggles with them. On the left side, the spirit of nature succeeds in transplanting the tree and repelling the tiger showing that order has again triumphed over disorder. But the fact that the tiger looks back, while retiring, shows that the danger is not yet over. After all nature is a perpetual process of challenge and response.

XIV. Harappa, Human Sacrifice

Seal from Harappa showing a human sacrifice as part of a fertility cult. A nude woman is shown seated on the ground with her arms uplifted. Before her stands a man with a sickle-like knife in one hand, and, perhaps, a bow in the other, obviously to immolate her. Here we find a picture of the primitive agricultural ritual consisting of the ceremonial killing of a member of the community, and the distribution of his or her flesh among the people and the scattering of a portion of it in the fields with a view to increasing the fecundity of the tribe and the fertility of the soil. For discussion, see pp. 42-43 supra.

XV. Harappa, Nude Woman-Earth

Seal from Harappa showing a nude woman upside down with legs apart and a plant or a tree emerging from her vulva. Here clearly we have a figure of mother earth, the matrix of all plant and animal kingdom.

XVI. Harappa, Mother Goddess

Terracotta figurines from Harappa showing the mother goddess having a pannier or pitcher-like object on the head. In Vedic conceptions, the mother-goddess, called Aditi, Virāj, Vasupatnī, Viśvarūpā, Vaiśvadevī, Vaiśvadhāyā Kevalī etc. is shown to be the mistress of the cosmic order and essentially a symbol of motherhood and generation. She bears milk, containing butter, which is the cosmic seed. The collectivity of the creative element is symbolised by the full pitcher (*pūrṇakumbha*). Hence, it appears that the figures of the mother-goddess, bearing on her head a Kumbha-like object, refer to these ideas.

XVII. Kalibangan, Fire Altars

Fire altars from Kalibangan. The row of these altars occurs on a mud-brick platform and not far off are a well and a bathroom or bath-platform. A drain is meant for carrying water. The whole complex looks like a *yajñabhūmi*.

PLATE I

*Harappa Par i Wal*



Mohenjodaro Great Bath

PLATE III



Lothal The Dock



Mohenjodaro : Paśupati Seal



Mohenjodaro : Variant Paśupati Seal



Mohenjodaro : Another Variant Paśupa Seal

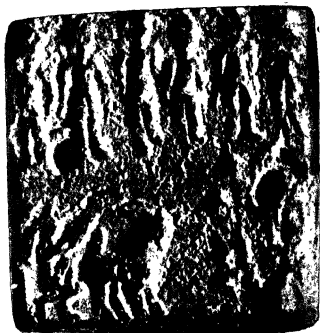
PLATE VII

*Mohenjodaro : Bull*



Mohenjodaro : Three Forms and Seven Figures

PLATE IX



Mohenjodaro : Variant of Three Forms and Seven Figures



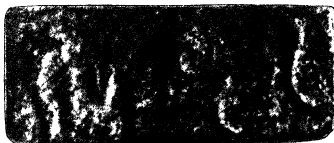
*Mohenjodaro : Another Variant of Three Forms and
Seven Figures*

PLATE XI



Mohenjodaro : Pipal Twig with Five Branches

PLATE XII



Mohenjodaro : Snakes following persons

PLATE XIII



Mohenjodaro . Man and Tiger

PLATE XIV



Harappa : Human Sacrifice

PLATE XV



Harappa : Nude Woman-Earth



Harappa . Mother Goddess

PLATE XVII



Kalibangan : Fire Altars

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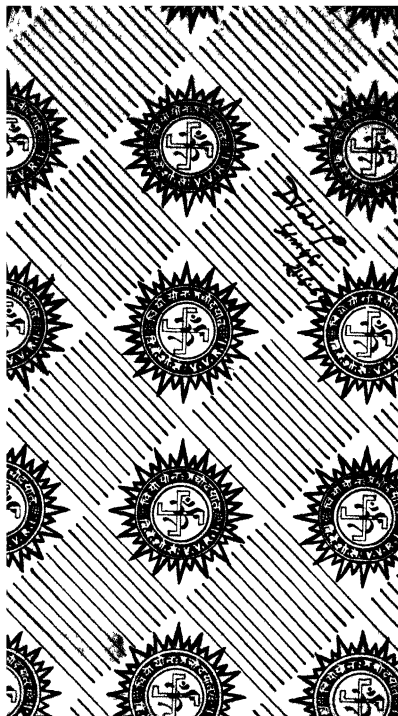
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